

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

AN

INTERNATIONAL

MAGAZINE

AUGUST

The Farm's Debt to Science

Mark Twain: Doctor of Letters

The Regeneration of San Francisco

Taft as a Judge and His Labor Decisions

Charles S. Mellen: Railroad Organizer

South American Railroad-Building

Study of the Human Plant

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Fifteen-Minute Meals for Midsummer

MARY JANE McCLURE



¶ When meal-time comes in midsummer, the housewife is seized with a languorous disinclination to go into the hot kitchen and cook. The mere thought of preparing the meal drives away the appetite. The up-to-date, commencement de siècle housewife is prepared for occasions of this sort. Her larder is stocked with materials which make it possible for her to prepare an appetizing meal on short notice, with never a thought of sweltering and broiling over a hot kitchen stove.



FROZEN BEEF Dainties

¶ One of the greatest secrets of quick-meal cookery is hidden in the little jar of Armour's Extract of Beef. It has proved to be one of the most successful beauty remedies on the market, for it smooths away wrinkles of worry and care

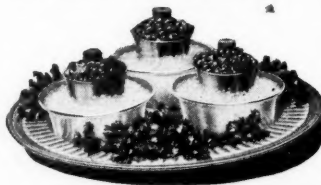


more effectually than a massage roller, and replaces them with smiles of happiness which transform the woman before the stove into a laughing Hebe.

¶ American women do not place a proper value upon Extract of Beef. They consider it merely a part of invalid diet. They will cook a shin of beef for hours in an effort to secure the essence of it, when they could buy the soul of the shin ready to be transmuted into delicious dainties with the mere addition of hot water. Italian, German and French women give Extract of Beef the place of honor in their kitchen closet. They know that it doubles the resources of the woman who desires to have things taste a little better than "Mother used to make." A jar of Extract of Beef (if it is Armour's) is a necessary concomitant of things culinary—soups, entrees, roasts or vegetables. It is so concentrated from the richest and best of beef that it is spicy with the absolutely pure beef flavor. Just a bit of it on the tip of a spoon trans-

forms an insipid dish into a gastronomical delight.

¶ I have found that Armour's Extract of Beef solves the summer soup problem. On a hot day the stomach rebels at the very thought of steaming dishes. One eats more from a sense of duty than because of real hunger. Iced bouillon or consomme teases the flagging appetite into activity and satisfies that gnawing feeling in the pit of the stomach which is at the same time hunger and disgust. The bouillon may be made in the morning and set away until dinner time is at hand. Make it this way:



ICED BOUILLON

Three teaspoonfuls of Armour's Extract of Beef.

Two quarts of hot water.

One sprig of parsley.

One tablespoonful of salt.

One-half bay leaf.

One-fourth tablespoonful of whole pepper.

One tablespoonful of butter.

One-fourth cup each of carrots, onions and celery cut in dice.

To the boiling water add the Extract, vegetables and seasonings;

cook 30 minutes. Strain, and when cool add a small quantity of sherry or Madeira wine. Chill and serve cold. If the wine is not desired it may be omitted without detracting materially from the palatability of the bouillon; but it will



be found to give a tantalizing flavor which will add greatly to its merits as a hot weather appetite-tempter.

¶ Frozen Beef Tea is another novel midsummer tit-bit. Make it in the proportions of one-fourth teaspoon of Armour's Extract of Beef to each cupful of hot water. Season it with salt and pepper to taste. Add to it a small quantity of gelatine previously dissolved in water, and set the mixture on ice until it is jellied. Serve very cold in place of soup.

¶ Aspic Jelly seems peculiarly a part of hot weather cookery. To make it, take:

One teaspoonful of Armour's Extract of Beef.

One-half package of acidulated gelatine.

One pint of hot water.

One cup of cold water.

One-half cup of sherry wine.

Two teaspoonfuls of sugar.

Cover the gelatine with cold water; let it stand for five minutes, then add the hot water, sugar and wine. Strain and put into a mold until cold. Use as a garnish for salads or entrees.



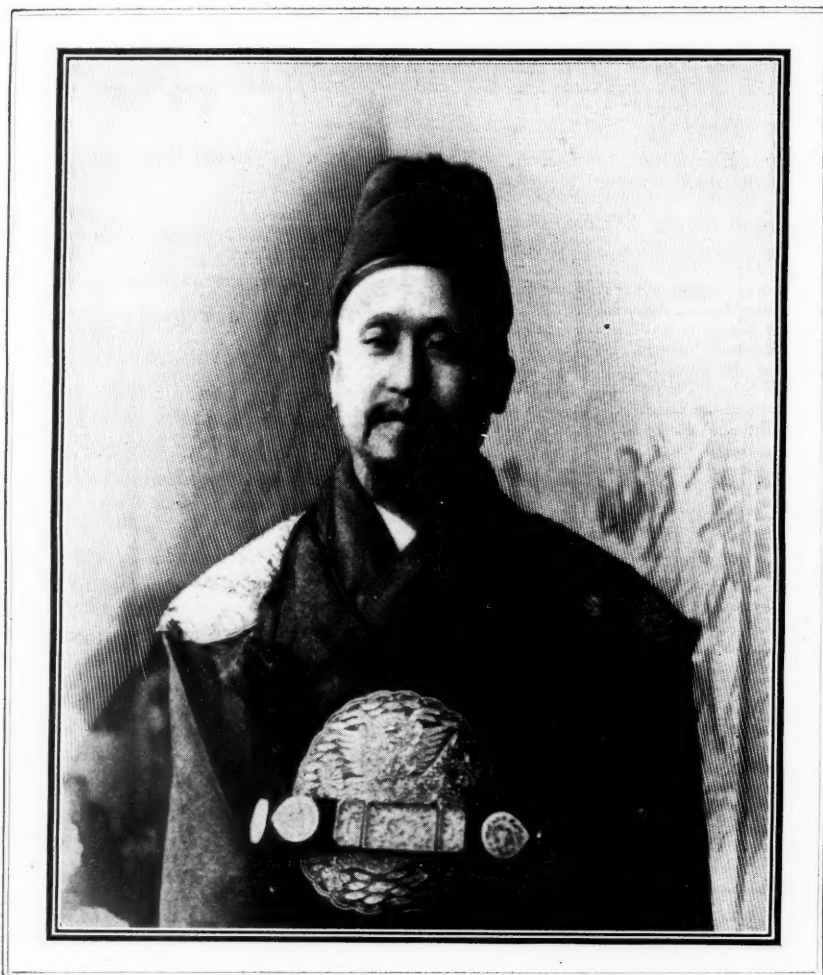
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HI-HYEUNG, EMPEROR OF KOREA, WHO HAS ABDICATED.

[The appearance at the Hague Conference last month of a Korean delegation was the signal for renewed anti-Japanese disorder in Seoul, capital of the Hermit Kingdom. The refusal of the conference to receive these delegates was followed almost immediately by the demand on the part of the Korean ministry that the Emperor abdicate. The sending of these delegates to The Hague, it was urged, endangered the national welfare of Korea, since by the treaty of November, 1906, all the foreign affairs of Korea are under Japanese control. The abdication ceremonies took place on July 19 at the Imperial palace in Seoul. This abdication is formal acknowledgment to the world of Japan's full control of the Hermit Kingdom. Yi-Hyeung, otherwise known by his title of Ch'yelchyong, succeeded to the throne in 1864. In 1897 he assumed the title of Emperor. Ever since 1895, when his imperial consort, Queen Min, was assassinated, the Emperor has lived in the greatest fear of being murdered by some of his corrupt courtiers or by Japanese intriguers. Up to July, 1894, when war was declared by Japan against China, the monarchy, which is hereditary, was absolute. Japan's influence began at the close of that war and has been confirmed by a series of treaties with Korea, China, Russia, and England. The Japanese resident-general at Seoul, Marquis Ito, now "advises" the Korean ruler in all matters of foreign relations.]

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 2

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

*The Folly
of War
Talk.*

In view of the high average of intelligence that prevails in this country, it is hard to understand why there should have been so much talk about war with Japan. When the Japanese opened the campaign against Russia there had been a long period of serious strain, with protracted negotiations touching vital matters, and with vast changes impending in the political control of regions regarded as of life-and-death importance to the future of Japan. Russia was converting Manchuria into an extension of her Siberian empire, was making Port Arthur an impregnable fortress, was about to acquire Korea, and was expecting in due time to assume control of a great part of China, including Peking. From the Japanese standpoint, Russian policy was not merely fatal to Japan's future growth of power and influence, but even menaced Japan's ultimate independence. The war was prosecuted in a blaze of national enthusiasm and patriotism such as the world has hardly ever witnessed. Russia throughout the war was somewhat estranged in feeling toward the United States, because there seemed in this country to be so much sympathy for the Japanese. Finally the good offices of President Roosevelt helped to bring about a conclusion of the war at the very moment when peace was the best thing that Japan could have.

*Japan
Nothing
to Gain.*

The Japanese had always regarded the Government and people of the United States as especially friendly, and had looked to this country as the chief inspirer of their rapid modern progress. Their most difficult and anxious task of statesmanship had been to secure the termination of the old commercial treaties under which the European powers claimed the right to enter the markets of Japan at a ridiculously small rate of duty. It was the

influence of the United States more than any other one thing that finally emboldened Japan to assert herself and to assume control over her own tariff rates. War in modern times presupposes some fundamental dispute or antagonism that cannot be dealt with by diplomacy or arbitration. Furthermore, war is usually attended by deep feeling on both sides. But it so happens that there does not now exist, nor has there ever existed, any cause of war whatsoever between Japan and the United States. Nor is there any warlike feeling in this country against Japan. On the part of the public men and influential people of Japan, furthermore, there is no warlike feeling toward the United States. Neither is there any question of interest involved, such as leads nations sometimes to find pretext for war because of some conquest or acquisition they desire to make. Japan possesses nothing that we could acquire or could possibly wish to gain. We, on the other hand, have nothing that Japan could hope to gain and hold with benefit to herself, as the result even of a successful campaign.

*What
Would
Happen.*

If the Japanese should precipitate a war at the present moment their navy could unquestionably support a successful invasion of the Philippine Islands and Hawaii. But, by such an act, Japan would absolutely forfeit the political sympathy and financial support of the entire world. It would put Japan in the position of an outlaw nation. There would follow the instant abrogation of the treaty between Great Britain and Japan, which is of immense value to the Japanese. Every phase of the Far Eastern question would be reopened. Japan's virtual control of Korea would disappear, and her influence in Manchuria and China would be nullified. We in the United States care very little for

sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, and we are there principally in order to fulfill our serious responsibilities to the inhabitants and to the world at large. But we could not, of course, permit the islands to pass permanently from our control by so rude a method. It might take us several years to put our navy in position to cross the Pacific Ocean and extinguish the naval power of Japan. But we should be obliged to do it if the Japanese did not consent to withdraw and make due reparation. All Japanese statesmen understand that they would have much to lose and nothing to gain by war with this country.

*The Feeling
Against
America.*

Yet it is idle to deny that there has been much feeling stirred up in Japan against the United States by sensational newspapers. This feeling has owed something of its spread and intensity to the conditions following a successful war. The triumphs of the Japanese armies and navies aroused national pride, and made the popular press resentful of everything that might seem in any way to reflect upon the honor and the greatness of the Japanese name throughout the world. It was much to be regretted that the school incident in San Francisco occurred at such a

junction. The behavior of the school board of that city was without excuse and was at once mischievous and contemptible. Under the pretense that full-grown Japanese men were entering the primary grades with American boys and girls to learn to read and write English, an order was issued excluding all Japanese children from the regular public schools. No one would have objected to a rule fixing an age limit under which the large boys and men would have gone to the so-called "Oriental School." Scattered among the graded schools of a large city were perhaps forty or fifty Japanese children, whose presence did nobody any harm. There had for a year or more been a rapid influx of Japanese laborers at the port of San Francisco, and the agitation of organized white labor against the Japanese had become so bitter that it expressed itself in foolish and indefensible ways. It would have been comparatively easy to stem the tide of laborers if a certain rowdy element in California could have been prevented from creating one international incident after another. The school trouble was followed by the mobbing of Japanese restaurants and various other acts of lawlessness against people who had the same legal right to be here that any American traveler has to be in Japan.



SPAIN TO JAPAN: "Say, pard, if I was you I'd leave that fellow alone!"
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland).



THE BRUTALIZATION OF AMERICA.

The Pacific Coast has already become a ferocious lion and the whole land is fast being brutalized. We fear time may come when we shall be forced to use the rifle again at this hideous monster—the rifle which we once tried with success at the savage bear from the North. Alas! The noble-hearted George Washington and good-natured Abraham Lincoln, on whose ideals of freedom and justice the country was founded! We wonder what the forefathers are thinking about the present tendency of their country!

A STRIKING JAPANESE CARTOON FROM A LATE COPY OF "TOKIO PUCK."

The Real Situation. It happens that the Japanese have their cheap sensational newspapers, and all these outrages in California have been exploited in Japan, just as a like treatment of Americans in any foreign country would be exploited by the sensational press of the United States. Nevertheless, all thoughtful people in Japan are aware that these incidents are local, are disapproved by almost everybody in America, and will be guarded against in so far as possible. For example, the school board that behaved itself in so weak and foolish a way was appointed by Mayor Schmitz, whose administration was identified to a great extent with those very elements that have been responsible for the persecution of the Japanese. Now that Mayor Schmitz has been convicted and sentenced to prison for malfeasance in office, a new Mayor has been appointed, of a totally different character. This official, Dr. Edward R. Taylor, is a citizen of high professional standing, not identified in any way with municipal factions, and pledged to administer the affairs of the city with energy and fidelity. It is to be assumed that he will

use the full police strength of the government to protect Japanese and all other classes of the population. If there are mobs and outbreaks against the Japanese in California that are not promptly controlled by the local authorities, President Roosevelt would unquestionably be justified in using several regiments of the army to protect helpless people who under our treaties and laws have a perfect right to be here. Admiral Yamamoto, who has been visiting this country and who paid his respects to the President at Oyster Bay last month, understands the situation absolutely, and is now on his way home with assurances that fully confirm those of the leading statesmen of Japan. The Japanese Minister, Baron Aoki,—who, by the way, is not to retire, as was recently reported, but is to remain here indefinitely,—is in clear possession of all the facts in all their bearings, and sustains relations of the most perfect cordiality with our Administration. Baron Kaneko is another Japanese public man who knows everything that it is possible to know about conditions in both countries.

*Japan's
Correct
Attitude.*

Japanese public men would not be doing their duty if they were willing to have their compatriots maltreated in this country. But it is a mistake to suppose that they have been wrangling with the authorities at Washington. Reports were circulated throughout Europe last month that Japan had made demands upon our Government amounting virtually to an ultimatum. There is not a word of truth in these reports. President Roosevelt and Secretary Root have been far more active and outspoken in their protests against the California incidents than have any of the public men of Japan. There are naval officers in the navies of all countries who have an unfortunate habit of speech and who, from the very bent of their occupation, are credulous to the point of feeble-mindedness whenever irresponsible rumors of war get into the atmosphere. Some Japanese naval men and some American officers may have said the silly or boastful things attributed to them in the newspapers. But if they were actually so imprudent, their talk was the mere gabble of messroom or club and never meant for publication. There will be great effort shown to protect the Japanese on the Pacific Coast. Japanese statesmen understand the nature of our State sovereignty in matters of ordinary police regulation. They will not, therefore, be petulant or captious and they will soon be rewarded by seeing fairly good order on our Western Slope.

*The
Labor
Question.*

Meanwhile, Japanese statesmen will not be misled as to the American attitude on the subject of coolie immigration. The presence of eight or ten million people of African blood gives us all the warning we need as to the varied difficulties of race problems. It seems possible for us to assimilate to our citizenship and our industrial life the white immigrants from Europe, even though of widely different nationalities. Yet the process of assimilation, when a million of these people arrive every year, is involved in many difficulties of its own. The people of our Western slope are determined to build their region up on the basis of a white population, with its recognized social, political, and economic standards. If the Japanese had been coming in rapidly at the time when we established the rule of Chinese exclusion, the gates would have been barred against Japanese exactly the same as against Chinese. It is not a question of superior and inferior races.

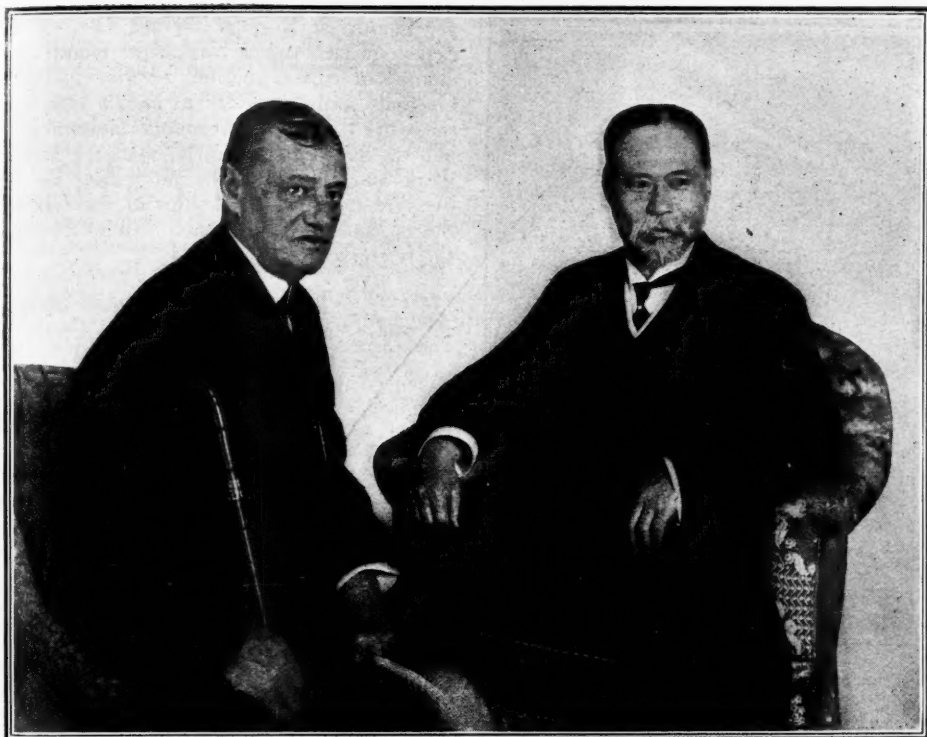
In some ways, if not in most ways, the Japanese working classes are superior to these white people from Europe who are now passing inspection in the port of New York at the rate of many thousands every week. It is not that the Orientals are to be looked down upon, but that they are so radically different as to make any early assimilation impossible. Under our existing treaties with Japan we have a right to exclude coolie labor, and the Japanese have a right to exclude American labor beyond the old so-called "treaty ports." We are authoritatively informed that the Japanese exercise this right. Knowing the attitude of our Government and the wishes of the people of our Pacific Coast, the Japanese Government does not issue any passports to laborers destined to the mainland of the United States. But the Japanese constitute the principal labor element of the Sandwich Islands, and our own Government was responsible for their coming here from Hawaii. They are not coming now from Honolulu, and it is in a general way probably correct to say that none are coming except the limited number who drift across the Mexican or Canadian borders. A few Japanese laborers cannot change the standards of the Pacific Coast.



A FINANCIAL REASON FOR PEACE.

JAPAN: "You may be sure I don't want to get in another fight with this load on my back."

From the News (Baltimore).



Photograph by Brown Bros., N. Y.

Admiral Robley D. Evans.

Admiral Yamamoto.

TWO DISTINGUISHED NAVAL OFFICERS WHO FRATERNIZED IN NEW YORK LAST MONTH.

But the further influx of large numbers is distinctly against American policy, and will not be permitted. Those who are here and have been regularly admitted must be treated with scrupulous regard for their legal rights. Japanese travelers, students, and merchants should be welcomed as representative members of a great and brilliant nation with which we enjoy the most amicable relations.

*Our Fleet
for the
Pacific.*

To sum up, then, we have no grievance of any kind against Japan, and the regrettable incidents in California are the only ground of grievance that Japan could have against us. But no sensible person could for a moment find in those incidents any difference upon which two great nations should go to war, sacrifice many thousands of lives, and waste thousands of millions of dollars worth of property. To mention such a thing is ridiculous, and to suggest it as likely would seem to indicate either a malevolent mind or a feeble understanding. Put some readers may

say it is now admitted that we are to send a great fleet of battleships to the Pacific Ocean, and this must mean that the Government seriously apprehends difficulties. Such an inference is not correct. It is quite true, as announced by Mr. Metcalf, Secretary of the Navy, that the Government expects in the early future to send a fleet of about sixteen battleships around the coasts of South America to our own Pacific seaboard. There are those who have said that we ought not to send these ships because such an action might be construed as a menace of war against Japan. If we were to wait for a more perfect accord to exist between the two governments, we should have to wait a long time. It is not likely that the ships will sail until some time next winter. The Pacific Coast is just as much a part of our country as is the Atlantic. There is no possible reason why we should not give our navy the experience of this long voyage. Our officers will learn a great deal about coaling at sea, and the merits and defects of our ships will be better understood by the experts after the



MISS GERTRUDE BEEKS, OF THE CIVIC FEDERATION.
(Who has visited Panama on Secretary Taft's authority in behalf of the welfare of Canal employees and reports favorably.)

test of so extended a cruise. The ships must be somewhere, and if a war against us should ever break out in the Pacific we should have to transfer numerous vessels, just as we brought the Oregon around Cape Horn nine years ago. No sensible people anywhere should regard the experiment of moving our own ships from one seaboard to another as a matter of international concern. We have no militant designs in the Pacific Ocean nor in any other quarter of the globe.

The inconvenience of so long a voyage will doubtless call attention again to the desirability of pushing the Panama Canal to the earliest possible completion. The progress of that work is, however, limited by conditions of a very definite sort. The Culebra Cut can proceed only so fast, and it will take a certain number of years to complete the canal. To shorten that time a very little would involve added expenditures out of all proportion. For the present, it seems to have resolved itself into a matter of simple statistics. The sanitary conditions in the Canal Zone have been made very decent. It is feasible to excavate a certain number of cubic yards

per month, at a given average cost. Efficiency means the achievement month by month of these specific results. Major Goethals seems thus far to be the man for the work. It is a stupendous undertaking, but we have entered fairly upon the actual work and there will be no letting up of pressure until the battleships of the United States can pass easily and safely through this waterway.

A Good Investment. The practical efficiency of our navy for purposes of the defense of our coast will naturally be greatly enhanced when the canal is completed. The standard estimates of the cost of the canal have been, in round figures, something less than \$300,000,000. Even if it should cost \$400,000,000, the actual outlay of the taxpayers of the United States would be the interest charge upon this sum, which at 3 per cent. would be \$12,000,000 a year. The navy has cost us in round figures, for some years past, more than \$100,000,000 every year. It is not difficult to reach the conclusion that the canal will prove an economical investment from the standpoint of coast defense. In other words, we shall be able to save much more than the interest on the canal bonds from the naval appropriations we should be obliged to make in future if we were not to have the use of the canal. Thus, if no revenue could be expected from the commercial use of the waterway, the canal would probably pay us well as a defensive investment. But there is a very fair chance that the canal may earn enough from merchant ships to pay interest upon its total cost. The Suez Canal is very profitable.

Need of a Good Navy.

With all the talk that has been made current by discussions at The Hague regarding the possibility of agreements for the lessening of the cost of armies and navies, it is clearly a wise policy and a pacific one for the United States to keep its navy both large and highly efficient. A very regrettable accident last month in a gun turret of the battleship *Georgia* during target practice led to the loss of a number of lives through the accidental explosion of some bags of powder. The modern battleship is a terrible machine, and one may well hope for the early coming of the time when the police work of the world can be done with mechanisms safe and comfortable for those who must operate them. The most practical suggestion in the direction of

the lessening of the burden of armaments is that which President Roosevelt has several times informally offered. The powers will not now consider a proposition to keep their naval expenditures below a given limit. But it would seem entirely feasible to agree that the size of battleships should not be increased. When one power builds two or three new ships of vastly increased size and armament, other powers feel obliged to construct ships of the new class, and the older ones become obsolete. If the Jingo party in Japan were strong enough at some moment of agitation to overthrow a wise and conservative government and to put firebrands and agitators into office, it is quite possible that the only thing that would avail to prevent a war would be the knowledge that the United States is a very strong naval power and could inevitably crush the Japanese navy in the end. There are various situations in the Western Hemisphere which in the long run are vitally affected by the strength of the United States Navy. Many nations are interested in the maintenance of good order in Cuba; and our navy gives us the ability to maintain order there with assurance and promptness. Several Central and South-American republics would now be under European seizure and occupation but for certain guaranties of order and of debt-paying that rest ultimately upon the strength of the

United States navy. Just at present it is reported that Venezuela is inclined to repudiate certain awards under arbitration proceedings, for which we had made ourselves morally responsible. It may be necessary for us to administer the Venezuelan custom-houses to see that these awards are paid. In matters of this kind the possession of great and undoubted naval strength often precludes the necessity of using the ships for actual bombardment. Certainly it is to be hoped that the time may come when all international disputes can be settled by arbitration, and when the just awards of arbitration can be enforced by a regular international mandate. But until such a time arrives, the peace and order of a large part of the world is going to depend upon the ability of the United States to enforce justice.

*Work
of the
Administration.*

Washington has seen little this summer of the important figures of the national Government. The President and his secretary, Mr. Loeb, are at Oyster Bay, where Mr. Roosevelt is getting as much rest and recreation as his daily official work will allow. Mr. Root is at his summer home at Clinton, N. Y., and the First Assistant Secretary, Mr. Bacon, is in immediate charge of the State Department. Mr. Taft is enjoying a much-needed vacation at Murray Bay, in Canada. Some time in the present month he is to visit Oklahoma, and soon afterward he will proceed to the Philippines. No department of the Government has of late been confronted with any very difficult or critical situations. The Department of Justice, however, has either already entered upon, or else taken under consideration, some important actions in the enforcement of the Anti-Trust law.

*Action Against
Tobacco
Trust.*

An endeavor is to be made to dissolve the so-called "Tobacco Trust," and a suit has been brought under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law in New York. The complaint as filed names sixty-five corporations and twenty-nine individuals, the American Tobacco Company being the central concern which controls the other companies. The tobacco business has been brought under the control of an organization that is more nearly monopolistic in its nature than are most of the so-called trusts. The Government proposes to restrain the Tobacco Trust from engaging in commerce, on the ground that its methods are in restraint of the liberty of trade that the law



THAT WAR CLOUD HAD BETTER MOVE ON OR THERE'LL BE A COLLISION.

(It is rumored that Bill Taft, the genial traveling man of Washington, will include Tokio, Japan, in his itinerary.)

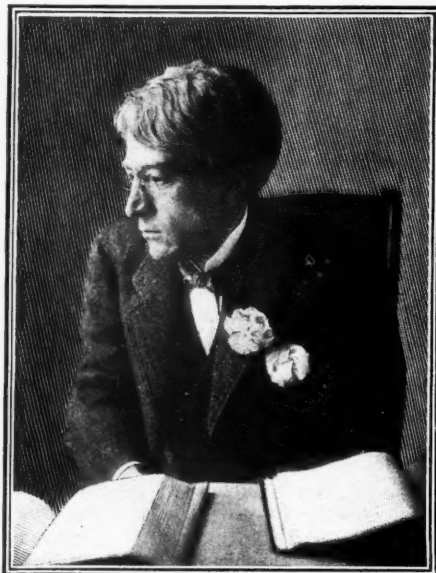
From the Record (Chicago).

guarantees. The complaint against the Tobacco Trust is novel, in that it suggests that "receivers be appointed to take possession of all the property, assets, business and affairs of said defendants, and wind up the same, and otherwise take such course in regard thereto as will bring about conditions in trade and commerce among the States and with foreign nations in harmony with law." The direct proposal of the complaint is that

receivership for the purpose of dissolving an oppressive trust.

*Against
Standard
Oil.*

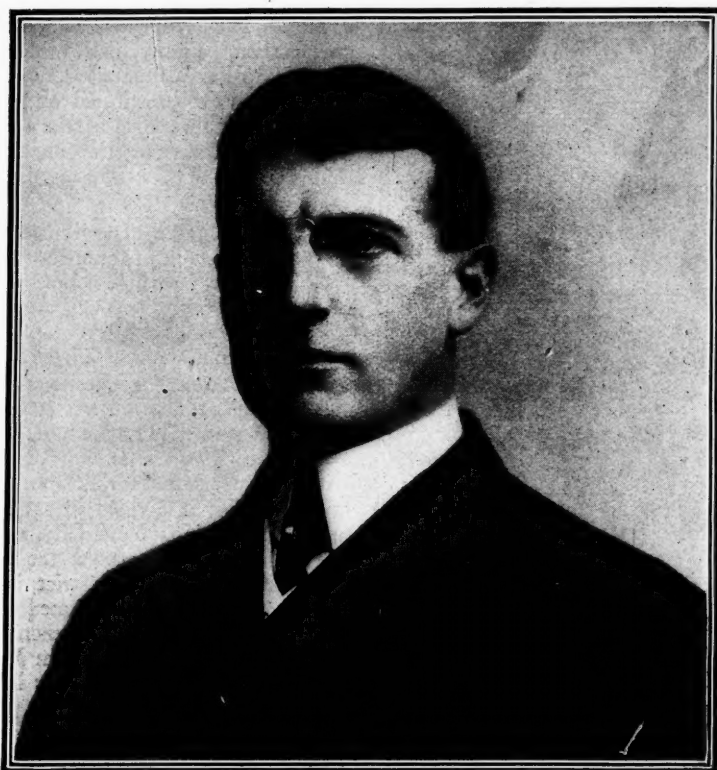
Even more important than the action against the Tobacco Trust is the one that it is understood that the Government is bringing against the Standard Oil combination. The Standard Oil Trust is made up of a large number of different corporations, all of which are understood to be absolutely part and parcel of the central or parent company, known as the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. Meanwhile various prosecutions of the Standard Oil Company have been going forward for local and detailed offenses in different parts of the country. For example, the Standard Oil Company of Indiana has been convicted on a large number of counts for taking rebates from railroads. These cases were tried in the court of Judge K. M. Landis, United States District Judge, at Chicago. Judge Landis found that if the maximum fines were assessed against the Standard Oil Company the total would be \$29,240,000. Before fixing the amount of the fine he demanded evidence as to the actual ownership and wealth of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana. For that purpose subpoenas were issued against Mr. Rockefeller and other important officers of the Standard Oil Company, who went to Chicago and appeared in court on July 6. Judge Landis had no difficulty in eliciting what was already matter of common knowledge,—namely, that the Standard Oil Company of Indiana was a part of the larger concern. He declared that he would make announcement of the amount of the fine on August 3. However large a sum Judge Landis may assess against the Standard Oil Company, it is to be remembered that there is no justification whatsoever for the taking of rebates by this great monopoly. The whole public opinion of the country, as well as the laws of Congress and of the States, is against these practices whereby the large corporations make it impossible for smaller firms and companies to do business. The Standard Oil Company has solemnly assured the public again and again that for many years past it has observed the law and taken no rebates. Yet the undoubted evidence is to the contrary. Under all the circumstances there is no reason for lenience or patience. Not only should fines be heavy, but offenses of this kind, where it can be shown that they were deliberately committed, should involve the



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

JUDGE KENESAW MOUNTAIN LANDIS.

the chief companies of the Tobacco Trust be restrained from engaging in interstate or foreign commerce. The proposal of receivers is made as an alternative suggestion, "if the court should be of the opinion that the public interest will be better subserved thereby." This idea has attracted much attention throughout the country, and it has been widely reported by newspapers in control of Wall Street that the Government deliberately intends to take control of all the great trusts and corporations and administer them itself under federal receivers. No such large policy could be entered upon without the most profound consideration, and it is not for a moment to be believed that anything of the kind is in contemplation. It is, however, an interesting legal point and one appropriately raised in a suit of this kind, whether under the existing laws the Government could demand and the courts could grant a

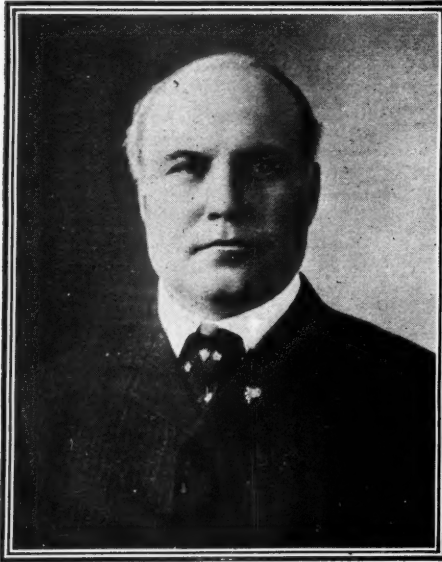


HON. MILTON D. PURDY, ASSISTANT ATTORNEY-GENERAL, WHO IS PROMINENT IN THE ACTIONS
AGAINST THE TOBACCO TRUST.

guilty individuals in some form of disgraceful punishment. There may be much difference of opinion as to the expediency of trying to break up large industrial combinations, but there can be no difference as to the necessity of compelling them to discontinue those methods whereby they induce the railroads to crush the American citizen who has the temerity to venture into their kind of business. The energy and activity of the Government in prosecuting offenses of this kind are to be thoroughly commended.

*The
"Harriman
Report."* It is understood that the very clear and logical report of the Interstate Commerce Commission covering the so-called Harriman investigation was written by Commissioner Franklin K. Lane, of California. There is nothing personal or vindictive in the document. It finds that Mr. Harriman's consolidating methods have ended railroad competition in a territory equal to one-third of the whole

country. It finds that the methods used by Mr. Harriman were largely those of a kind of financiering which ought to be brought to an end. It recommends that the law should in general prevent railroads from investing in the stocks, bonds, and securities of other transportation companies. The report is valuable as an authentic narrative of the successive steps whereby the great Harriman system was built up. It was not the function of the commission to advise prosecution. It rests with the Department of Justice to bring such action as it may see fit in consequence of the information that the commission presents. While no definite statement has been made, it may be taken for granted that the Government will bring an action to break up the control of Southern Pacific by Union Pacific, following some of the principles established in the suit against the Northern Securities Company. The report may indeed furnish some suggestions for action in the courts, but it also provides in an even



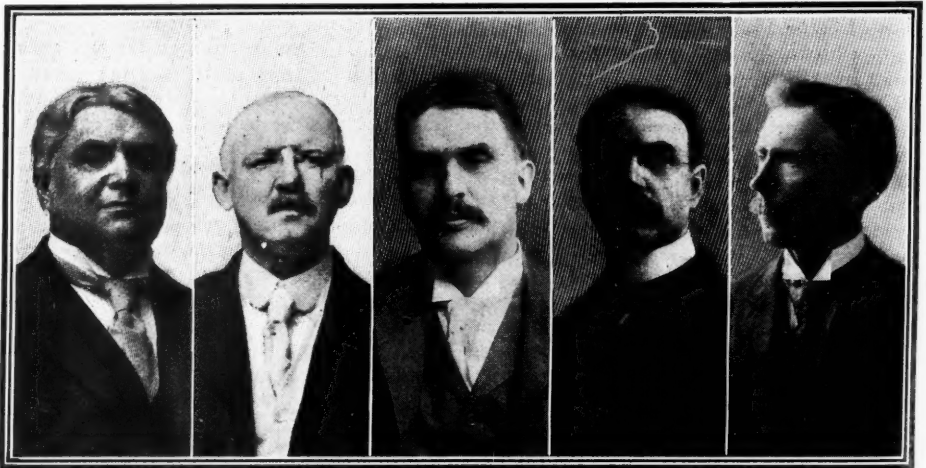
HON. FRANKLIN K. LANE, OF THE INTERSTATE
COMMERCE COMMISSION.

more important sense some well-considered ideas upon which Congress should act for the better regulation by law of the functions of interstate railroads and for the safeguarding of the issue of new railroad securities. There is no intimation as yet whether the scandalous facts brought to light in regard to the looting of the Chicago & Alton road are to be made the basis of civil or criminal

actions. The report is a document of great conservatism, dignity, and value, and justifies praise of the Interstate Commerce Commission as now constituted and of Messrs. Kellogg and Severance as the special attorneys who conducted the inquiry for the commission.

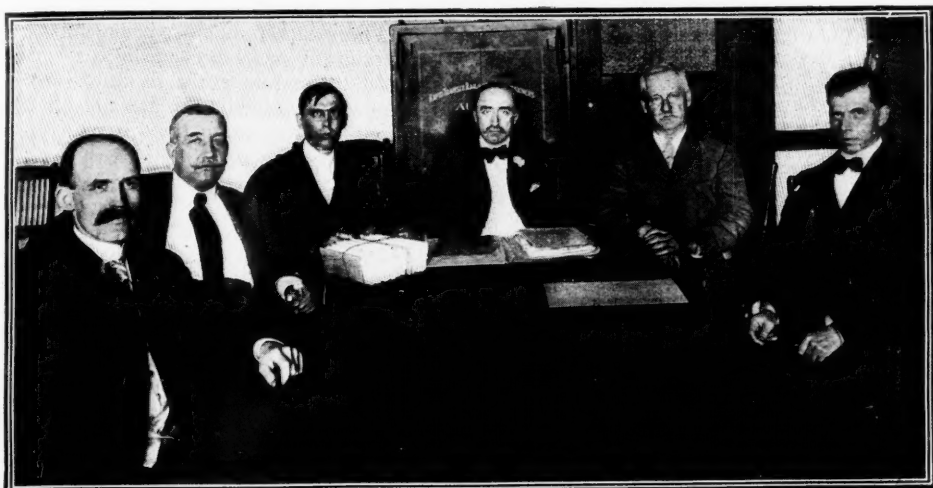
*Controlling
the Services
in New York.*

A piece of legislation important enough to command the attention of the whole country was that of the present New York Legislature in its provision of a new plan for regulating railroads and other public-service corporations. The name of Governor Hughes is identified with this conspicuous measure. Appointments have now been made under the law, and the two commissions are at work. Our readers will remember that for the purposes of this law the State is divided into two districts: one comprises New York City, and the other the rest of the State. At the head of the First, or Metropolitan District, is Hon. William R. Willcox, who resigned the postmastership of New York last month to accept this new office. Mr. William McCarroll is a business man of prominence; Mr. Edward M. Bassett is a lawyer with a great variety of useful public experience; Mr. Milo R. Maltbie is a well-known young student of municipal government with an exceptional knowledge of street railway and public franchise conditions at home and abroad. Mr. John E. Eustis is a lawyer, a prominent member of the Citizens' Union, and a man



Hon. Frank W. Stevens. Martin S. Decker. Thomas M. Osborne. Charles H. Keep. James E. Sague.

MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC-UTILITIES COMMISSION FOR NEW YORK STATE.



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MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC-UTILITIES COMMISSION FOR NEW YORK CITY.

From left to right: Milo R. Maltbie, Wm. McCarroll, T. H. Whitney, Secretary; Pres. W. R. Willcox, John E. Eustis, Edw. M. Bassett.

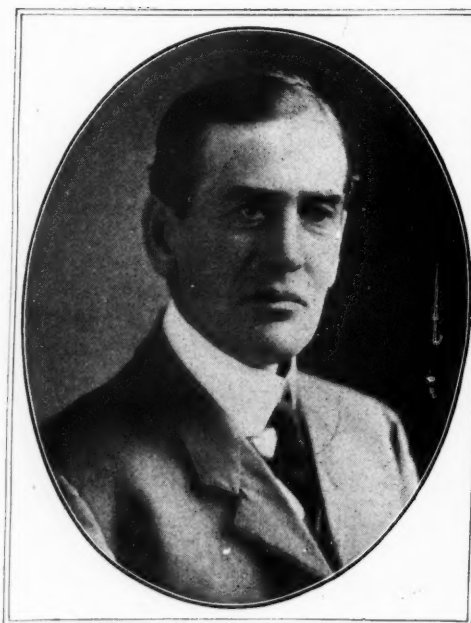
of excellent qualifications. These five men under the new law have remarkable powers vested in them for the constant supervision and regulation of transit conditions, lighting conditions, and certain other public service matters throughout the great metropolitan district of New York. It is too soon to say what they will do or how they will do it. They take the place of the Rapid Transit Commission and several other previously existing bodies. It is hoped that the new law in the hands of these men will enormously improve the transit conditions, now so painfully congested.

The "Up-State" Board. The country at large will also be interested in the working of the other commission which takes the place of the State Railroad Commission and of several other bodies. The members of this board are the Hon. Frank W. Stevens, of Jamestown, a well-known lawyer; Charles H. Keep, of Buffalo, recently Assistant Secretary of the Treasury at Washington and Superintendent of Banks of New York State; Thomas M. Osborne, formerly Mayor of Auburn and a prominent independent Democrat; James E. Sague, who has had large engineering experience in connection with railroads and their equipment, and Martin S. Decker, who has for twenty years been assistant secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission at Washington. These are all men of pronounced ability and

character, and it is to be expected that their administration will impress itself in a very firm and dignified way upon railroad management in the State of New York, as well as upon the conduct of other public-service companies.

Issues for Next Year.

The country begins to take a perceptibly increasing interest in the questions and candidates of the coming Presidential year. There is no indication that the tariff question will be prominent in the new Congress which is to convene next December. It is almost impossible to revise the tariff in a business-like spirit in the months preceding a Presidential election. But undoubtedly the tariff ought in the near future to be thoroughly overhauled, and it is a pity that a few schedules by way of a foretaste should not be remodeled in the coming session. There will be some further railroad legislation in order, and in one way or another the question of corporations and their control will figure largely in the Presidential contest. If the Democrats were consistent and zealous they might force the tariff issue to some advantage. But there is no evidence that the Democratic party is any longer a free-trade organization or even a party of radical tariff reform. The South has gone so heavily into varied manufactures that it wants protection, and the South can write such tariff planks as it wishes in Democratic platforms. Mr. Bryan still holds the



GOVERNOR JOHN A. JOHNSON, OF MINNESOTA.
(High in Democratic national councils.)

center of the stage as the chief Democratic candidate. Other candidates will naturally begin to be heard from, and already there is a good deal of talk about Governor Johnson, of Minnesota.

For some time the country was wondering about Mr. Henry Watterson's mysterious "dark horse." It now appears that he had Governor Johnson of Minnesota in mind. Certainly Mr. Johnson has been remarkably fortunate as a vote-getter in two campaigns. But as a man capable of directing national affairs the country knows nothing about him. Mr. John Temple Graves, of Georgia, is still insisting in his eloquent way that both great parties ought to concur in

forcing a renomination upon President Roosevelt. The idea has much to commend it, but our permanent party mechanisms could hardly adjust themselves to the shock of such an innovation. Meanwhile the demand for Mr. Roosevelt's renomination by his own party is a very clear and strong one, with the outspoken support of a good many leaders in their respective States. Undoubtedly Mr. Roosevelt means exactly what he has repeatedly said. But conditions might arise that would prove very embarrassing. Meanwhile the great fitness of Secretary Taft commends itself to the judgment of thoughtful men throughout the country. In view of criticisms upon certain decisions of his when on the federal bench we publish an interesting article this month covering the whole subject. The article is contributed by the Hon. F. N. Judson, of St. Louis, a distinguished lawyer who belongs to the Democratic party. No fair-minded labor leaders will be justified in opposing Mr. Taft on the score of these decisions. The candidacy of Speaker Cannon is kept prominent in Illinois, and so is that of Senator Knox, in Pennsylvania. There is no appearance of any organized movement on



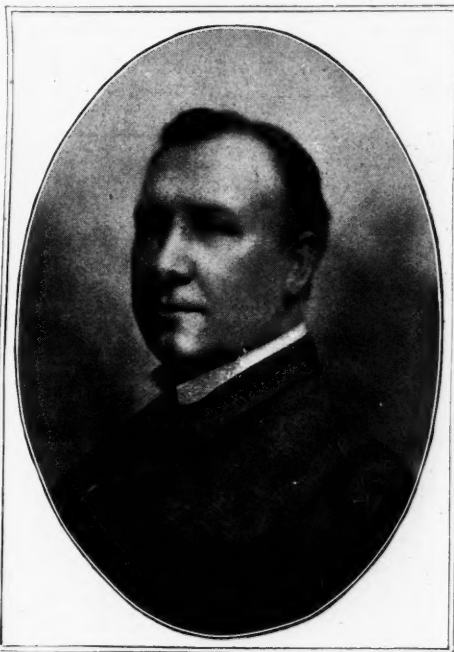
TEDDY AND HIS PRESIDENTIAL SLATE.
From the American (Nashville).

behalf of Governor Hughes, of New York, yet there is a great deal of current talk about his availability as a candidate. Many friends of Mr. Cortelyou, Secretary of the Treasury, are speaking of him as the most desirable man to bring forward as a "dark horse" in case of a deadlocked convention. The situation viewed as a whole is quite undeveloped.

*Better
Outlook for
"Jamestown."* The Jamestown Exposition was, unfortunately, far from being finished when opened to the public, and it may not be easy to live down the disappointing impressions that were made current some weeks ago. Immense progress has been made, however, and during the months of September, October, and November there ought to be a large attendance, with a great expansion of friendly interest in the efforts that the exposition people are making. The new Director-General, Mr. James N. Barr, has been prominent in the business world as president of the Seaboard Air Line Railway. It is to be hoped and believed that this exposition, which is much more important than the country generally supposes, will win full recognition and success before it ends.

*Summer
Law-
Making.* As if the American passion for law-making could not be sated by the winter sessions of forty State and Territorial legislatures, the labors of several of these bodies were prolonged this year well into the summer. The New York Legislature having adjourned without effecting a reappointment of Senate districts, it was at once recalled in special session by Governor Hughes, but the greater part of July was permitted to pass with practically nothing accomplished in the way of bringing the Senate and Assembly into agreement on this important matter. The Wisconsin Legislature, after one of the longest sessions in the State's history, adjourned on July 17, with several meritorious enactments to its credit,—notably the Public-Utilities law described by Professor Commons on page 221 of this REVIEW. The action of the same legislature in finally passing a two-cent passenger fare bill, after the railroad commission named by Governor La Follette had decided that a two-and-one-half-cent fare was the lowest maximum rate consistent with reasonable returns to the railroads, occasioned not a little surprise throughout the country. The year's campaign for reduced

fares in the various State legislatures is reviewed in some detail on page 217. The General Assembly of Georgia, which met late in June, was called upon to investigate the control exercised over the Central Railway of Georgia by the Southern Railway.



GOVERNOR HOKE SMITH, OF GEORGIA.
(Who has been very prominent of late.)

*Prohibition
in
Georgia.* In Georgia, last month, both people and legislators seemed to be interested less in the railroads than in the prohibition of the liquor traffic. In the North and Middle West, where "prohibition" was once a burning issue, the movement in recent years has lost vigor. In the South, on the other hand, valuable ground has been gained. A great majority of the counties of Georgia have for some time forbidden the traffic within their jurisdictions. It is not strange, then, that the believers in that method of dealing with the liquor problem have at last been able to elect a Legislature and a Governor pledged to enact a State prohibition law. It was stated late in July that the prohibitory bill passed by the Legislature would receive the signature of Governor Hoke Smith. During this legislative session United States Senator Bacon was elected for another term. In Mississippi there was a spirited contest for the

Democratic primary nomination to the Senate between Governor Vardaman and Representative John Sharp Williams.

*San Francisco's
Struggle
Against Graft.* The underlying causes and unforeseen forces at work in bringing about the real regeneration of San Francisco are set forth by Mr. Colvin B. Brown in a comprehensive article which we present to our readers this month.



PROFESSOR HARRY A. GARFIELD.

The story of events moved very swiftly last month. Mayor Eugene E. Schmitz, convicted on June 13, for extortion, was sentenced, on July 8, to serve five years' imprisonment in the State penitentiary. In pronouncing judgment Judge Dunne administered a stinging rebuke to the convicted man, and referred to the verdict of the jury as a message to all people that "in San Francisco no man, no matter how exalted his station, or how strong and powerful the social and financial influences which surround him, is above the law." Pending an appeal to the State Supreme Court Schmitz announced that he would be a candidate for re-election to a fourth term as Mayor of San Francisco. Indeed, up to the time of

his conviction he had been virtually administering the city government from the county jail. After his incarceration the government had been carried on by James J. Gallagher, one of the Board of Supervisors, who had acted as Mayor. The board, on July 9, selected Charles Boxton, another member, to succeed Mr. Gallagher, with the understanding that this choice was only temporary. On July 16 a nominating convention, made up of delegates from the Building Trades Council, the Labor Council, the Chambers of Commerce, the Board of Trade, the Merchants' Association, the Real Estate Board, and the Merchants' Exchange, met and agreed upon Dr. Edward R. Taylor, a prominent physician and lawyer, dean of the Hastings Law College and another professional school, to be Mayor of San Francisco until November, when the next municipal election will be held. This choice was immediately confirmed by the Board of Supervisors, which was empowered to elect a Mayor. Dr. Taylor has been a resident of San Francisco for nearly half a century, and has been identified in a quiet way with public affairs for many years. He is known to be a man of unusual executive and administrative ability and of unquestioned integrity.

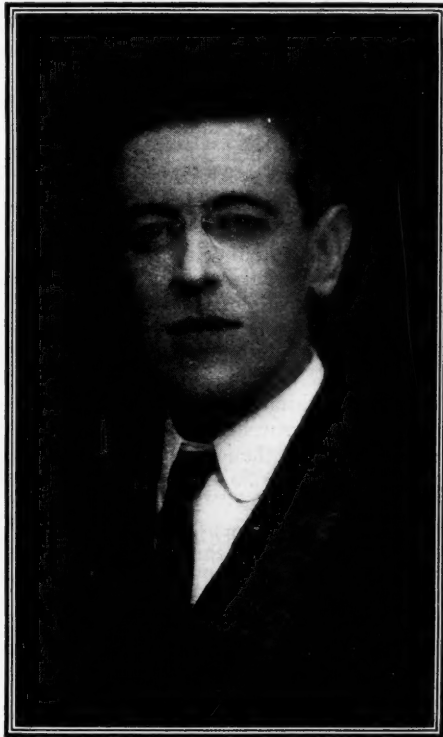
*A New
College
President.*

Williams College is losing one distinguished president and gaining another. President Henry Hopkins had all along intended to retire at the age of seventy. He is the son of President Mark Hopkins, who was president of Williams College from 1836 to 1872, and to whose influence President Garfield attributed so much of his own success in life. The new president is Mr. Harry A. Garfield, oldest son of President Garfield, who graduated at Williams twenty-two years ago. For some years Mr. Garfield was a successful lawyer in Cleveland, O., and for four years he has been professor of politics at Princeton. He is admirably qualified to direct the affairs of one of the foremost colleges of America. His brother, James Garfield, who was his associate in law practice and in work for better politics in Ohio, is now Secretary of the Interior in Mr. Roosevelt's cabinet. These two sons of a former President of the United States have made their way to great positions absolutely upon their own personal merits. President Raymond, of the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Conn., has retired, after a period of service during which that institution has made much ad-

vancement. The president of Union College at Schenectady, N. Y., Dr. Andrew V. Raymond, has also laid down the arduous duties of his office, after having made a most notable record.

*Dr. Wilson's
Plans at
Princeton.*

Dr. Woodrow Wilson has begun a social reorganization of Princeton College that may fairly be called revolutionary. He finds the famous upper class clubs working against the most manly, democratic and useful life of the university, and to make the matter short he proposes to do away entirely with these societies by absorbing them into a system of residential "quads," each quad presided over by a member of the faculty and having its own eating rooms and living rooms. This residential group would have members of all the classes in it, and would, with the aid of the present arrangement of preceptors, form its own self-governing system. The situation at Princeton is about this: Fraternities being forbidden, about twenty-five years ago the students began to form clubs where they ate, lounged, played billiards, and otherwise occupied their time out of lectures. About ten years ago these clubs began to increase in importance and became more lavish in their expenditures, until now two of them have buildings which are said to have cost nearly \$100,000 apiece. Only two upper classes are allowed to be members of the "Ivy," "Cap and Gown," "Tiger Inn," "Cottage," and the nine or ten other organizations of this sort. About two-thirds of the upper classes are elected to membership on the basis of individual brilliancy in athletics or other social assets, leaving one-third of the juniors and seniors practically social pariahs. Thus the student body at Princeton is split up socially into, first, freshmen and sophomores, who may or may not be saved; the discarded third of the sophomores and seniors, who are certainly lost, the athletic stars of "Tiger Inn"; the patrician members of the "Cottage" club, and so on, with the societies frequently canvassing, in spite of all "treaties" to the contrary, for future members among the lower class students, and even in the "prep" schools. It is easy to see, with President Wilson, that such a situation does not make for a democratic and manly college spirit, or for a well-co-ordinated academic life. Any one who knows the intense devotion of the members of the upper class societies to their clubs, among the alumni as well as among the un-



PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON, OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

dergraduate members, will probably be surprised to see how many Princeton men agree wholly or in part with the proposal that these organizations shall sacrifice themselves for the common good by becoming, each one, a center and part of one of the democratic "residential groups" that President Wilson hopes to put in place of them. No more fundamental and courageous move in the direction of vitality and wholesomeness in academic life has been made in recent years, and this can be said with a perfect recognition of the excellent part played by the societies in their own field and of their high tone and ornamental value.

*Mark Twain
a British
Lion.*

It would be difficult to remember a British tribute to an American individual parallel to the reception given this summer to Mark Twain,—certainly so when one notes the extraordinarily affectionate tone in England's fêting. The specific occasion of this outburst of admiration and tenderness for him whom Englishmen unhesitatingly and unan-

imously put at the head of our men of letters, was Oxford's bestowal on Mr. Clemens of the degree of "Litt. D. *honoris causa*." But the university's graceful favor, with its picturesque setting, became but an incident in the general round of toasting the author of "Innocents Abroad." Englishmen are apt to consider Poe and Mark Twain the most considerable figures among the producers of literature in the history of the New World, and they are willing to place Mr. Clemens by the side of Charles Dickens as a humorist of universal appeal, agreeing that there has been no other since Dickens to compare with him in reaching the greatest number of hearts with honest fun and pathos. Englishmen have, relatively at least, been more sympathetic readers than Americans of Mark Twain's later works, such as "Joan of Arc" and "The Prince and the Pauper." Mr. Clemens, at the age of seventy-two, has passed through the round of gaieties, the royal garden parties, the Pilgrims' banquet, the dinner by the *Punch* staff and the rest, with a youthful enjoyment and *verve* that do a world of credit to the idea that humor and philosophy will keep a man young in spite of years.

*The
Question of
Prosperity.*

The authentic reports of mid-summer from the crops, the railroads, the iron industry, and business in general scarcely support the idea, prevalent during the past few months, that the United States is passing over into a period of industrial depression. The wheat crop, to be sure, seems to be a hundred million bushels, or 14 per cent. short of last year's; but that was a "bumper" crop. The corn yield promises two and a half billion bushels, as compared with 2,700,000,000 bushels in 1906; but the smaller figure means the fourth largest crop in the history of the country. There is a fair yield of oats and, owing to the late and wet spring, a splendid crop of hay. Although bank clearings are smaller in New York City, owing to the contracted dealings on the stock market, they are for the whole country making new records. The prosperity of the plain people is shown in the great figures of savings-banks deposits, one institution alone, the Bowers of New York, reporting on July 1st that it had passed the \$100,000,000 mark,—a new record for savings banks. Retail trade is excellent for the season. The railroads are reporting gross earnings something like twelve per cent. greater than the banner year of

1906. The great equipment companies supplying cars and material for the railroads report that they could keep their plants running at full speed for an entire year with only the orders on hand. All this sounds wholesome enough. It remains true that the intense industrial activity of the past few years has made a great drain on capital, not only in the United States, but the world over, and when large sums are needed for new enterprises, or for the extension of old ones, a very high price must be paid for the use of the money, if it can be had at all. The consequence is that even the most desirable issues of railroad and industrial bonds are exceedingly difficult to market, and it is the rule that from three-quarters to ninety per cent. of such bonds newly issued must be held by wealthy underwriting syndicates for lack of purchasers. While almost every one looks for some slight recession in business activity during the Presidential year, it seems likely that there will be work enough for everybody at good wages. With less pressing demand, however, trade-unionism is not so aggressive, and we hear much less of strikes in the building trades, on the railroads, and elsewhere. A great threatened strike of the commercial telegraphers was fortunately averted last month through the efforts of the Labor Commissioner, Mr. Neill. The anthracite conciliation board reports a clean docket. The United States Treasury began its new fiscal year last month with a surplus for the year just ended of \$87,000,000.



THE TROUGH IS OVERFLOWING.
From the Journal (Detroit).

*The Hague
Conference
at Work.*

When this issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS reaches its readers the Second International Peace Conference at The Hague will have been in session for six weeks. A good deal of earnest, if as yet only general, discussion has filled these weeks of deliberation. One of the most interesting proposals was made by the American delegation, looking toward the establishment of a permanent international court of arbitration, the organization and procedure of such court to be on a basis resembling somewhat those of the Supreme Court of the United States. For business purposes the Conference was divided into four committees, three of them subdivided into two sub-committees each. The subjects allocated to these committees are those which were outlined in the original Russian program. No committee was appointed to discuss the question of armaments. Nor was there a committee for the Drago Doctrine. The latter subject, however, came up for earnest discussion in the Arbitration committees. The United States has the largest representation on each of the

committees, but each country has only one vote in committee as also in the plenary sessions of the conference. The first committee,—that dealing with arbitration and international commissions of inquiry,—is presided over by M. Leon Bourgeois, ex-Foreign Minister of France. The second committee deals with the usages of war, under the presidency of Dr. Beernaert, of Belgium. The third committee to consider the laws and usages of maritime war, is under the presidency of Count Tornielli, of Italy. Dr. Martens, the international law expert of Russia, presides over the fourth committee, which considers the subjects of belligerent shipping and contraband of war.

*Some Topics
Discussed in
Committee.*

At the sessions of the first committee Baron Marschall von Bieberstein submitted on behalf of Germany two proposals: one for certain modifications of the Hague convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes, and the second dealing with the German proposal for a high prize court of appeal. In his latter proposal he was supported by Sir Edward Fry, on behalf of Great Britain. The Mexican delegate, Señor de la Barra, submitted, on behalf of his government, the text of a treaty of obligatory arbitration, signed at the City of Mexico, in 1902, by representatives of seventeen American states, as a sample of what an arbitration treaty should be. The second committee has been considering improvements of the rules of land warfare and the rights and duties of neutral powers in times of war and at the opening of hostilities. The discussions before the third committee have been on such topics as (1) naval bombardment of ports, towns, and villages, (2) belligerent war vessels in neutral ports, and (3) possible amendments to the Geneva convention of 1864, as revised in 1906. Gen. Horace Porter, of the United States delegation, submitted a proposal forbidding the naval bombardment of unfortified towns; Sir Ernest Satow, on behalf of Great Britain, announced a proposal concerning the employment of submarine mines; Colonel Tinge, for China, declared the unreserved acceptance by his government of the emblems of the



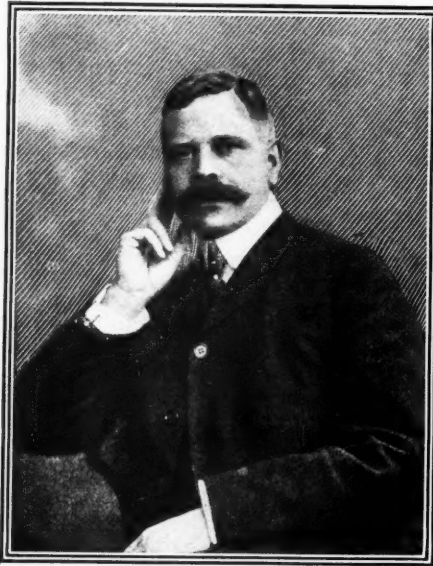
THE HALL OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

(An outside view of the Ridderzaal, Hall of the Knights, in The Hague, where the second International Peace Conference is in session.)

Red Cross; and the Turkish delegation declared that their country would retain the use of the crescent instead of the cross in humanitarian service. The work of the fourth committee included consideration of the British proposal for the better definition of contraband of war, involving its ultimate abolition. The committee also discussed at length the American proposal for the inviolability of private property (except contraband) at sea during war.

*New
World
Proposals.*

Among the other topics of world interest which have been discussed with great earnestness and vigor so far at the conference are the necessity for a declaration of war before the beginning of hostilities, the limitation of armaments, and the now famous Drago or Calvo doctrine regarding the forcible collection of contract debts. Dr. Drago himself, representing Argentina, made a strong plea in behalf of this idea. The South American delegates to the Hague Conference are men of



THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE HAGUE CONFERENCE.

Myneer W. Doude van Troostwijk, of the Dutch Foreign Office, who has been chosen general secretary of the conference.

eminence and are attracting much attention. Among them, by far the most talked of man is Dr. Drago, who was formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Argentine Re-



DR. LUIS MARIA DRAGO.

public. He is a young man full of energy and intelligence; a lawyer, an author, a judge, and a man who has made his mark in the New World, and is now making it in the Old. In discussing the American proposition forbidding the collection of contract debts by force General Porter pointed out that one of the most significant features of the present conference is the fact that for the first time in history the creditor and debtor nations of the world have been brought together in friendly council.

There are a number of interesting contrasts between the conference of 1899 and the present one. In 1899 the representatives of the twenty-six nations participating met in the famous old House in the Woods, in the suburban part of the Dutch capital. The conference of 1907, including delegates from forty-five nations, meets in the Ridderzaal (the Hall of the Knights), in the center of the city. In the opening speeches at the first conference complimentary references were frequent to the Czar of Russia and the German Emperor. This year the enthusiastic applause was evoked by the names of President Roosevelt as a contributor to international peace and Mr. Andrew Carnegie for his gift of the coming International Peace Palace. An unexpected result of the appearance of a Korean delegation at The Hague was the demand, made on July 16, by the Korean ministry, that the Emperor abdicate in favor



TWO NEW DOCTORS OF LETTERS, "HONORIS CAUSA, OXON."

(Mark Twain and General Booth leaving the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford, after receiving their degrees, as seen by the artist of *Illustration*, of Paris.)

of the Crown Prince and himself proceed to Tokio to apologize to the Japanese Emperor for violating that part of the recent Korean-Japanese agreement which puts Korean foreign relations under Japanese control. Next month the REVIEW hopes to be able to present a summary of the results of the Peace Conference, written from The Hague during the last days of the sessions.

*British
Domestic
Politics.*

In England Parliament and press are still discussing with undiminished vigor the possibility and advisability of abolishing the House of Lords, or at least of curtailing its power. By the very large majority of 432 to 147 the House of Commons, late in June, after a heated three-days debate, voted that the veto power of the upper house ought to be abolished. Premier Campbell-Bannerman stated that this resolution would not be sent to the Lords and would therefore have no legal ef-

fect, but would simply register the opinion of the Commons as to the "subordinate authority" of the Lords. Legislation dealing with the question, however, would be introduced later by the government. This question of the "mending or ending" of the Lords, the discussion in the upper house of Mr. Haldane's Army bill, and the ever present Irish Home Rule question have been the prominent topics of interest in Great Britain during the early summer. To Americans a feature of current British history which will appeal strongly was the conferring by the University of Oxford of honorary degrees upon an unusual number of distinguished men, including Premier Campbell-Bannerman, General Booth, of the Salvation Army, and our own "Mark Twain." Mr. Clemens has been a popular hero in England during his recent visit, and it is well to remember,—as Mr. Samuel E. Moffett points out on another page this month,—that Mr. Birrell

was quite correct when he said: "Mark Twain's humor enlivens and enlightens his morality, and his morality is all the better for his humor."

*In
Britain's
Colonies.*

June and July were months of parliamentary sessions and anniversary celebrations for many of the British colonies and dependencies. On July 1 the fortieth anniversary of Canadian confederation was celebrated throughout the Dominion. On the same day it was announced that the wheat crop of Western Canada would total more than 120,000,000 bushels, the largest crop on record. The self-governing colony of New Zealand is to become a dominion as soon as the colonial Parliament now in session passes an appropriate resolution to that effect. On July 1 the new constitution of the Orange River Colony was promulgated. The federal Parliament of Australia and the parliaments of the different states, in session during July, gave their chief attention to financial and tariff matters. Discontent still continues in India, but Secretary Morley's announcement of the appointment of a royal commission to inquire into the evils of over-capitalization in the colony and the establishment of an advisory Council of Notables to serve the double purpose of ascertaining native opinion and of spreading correct information as to the intentions of the home government will, it is hoped, serve to allay in some measure the feelings of the Hindus.

*The
Woes of
British India.*

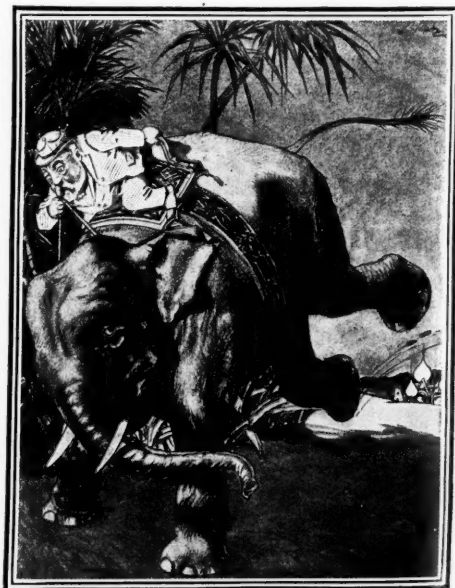
Political and economic changes of world significance are taking place in British India, if we read aright the signs of the times. Thoughtful Hindus are regarding with apprehension the various riots and other evidences of a rising feeling against British rule. The consensus of native opinion holds Great Britain responsible for most of the woes of the great peninsula. Prof. S. L. Joshi, a native Indian and secretary of the Pan-Aryan Association of New York City, recently declared that the famines in his native land are the most serious phase of the present disturbances. The economy of the Indian village remaining unchanged through centuries of political revolution, has lately been "vitaly affected by the competitive forces liberated by western methods of industry." Under a system of free trade and increasing railroad facilities the ignorant villagers, formerly eking out a bare living at their trades, have

found it impossible to adjust themselves to the new industrial environment and have been crushed. Agriculture and education are in sore straits. It is hardly a matter for congratulation, declares this Hindu gentleman, that, after a century and a half of British rule, only nine Hindus out of every 100 are literate.

Is India Capable of Self-Government?

It is one thing, however, to desire economic independence and political autonomy. It is distinctly another to be worthy of it and able to maintain it when secured. The views of a celebrated Indian journalist and traveler, Mr. Saint Nihal Sing, are interesting and instructive in this connection. In a recent address delivered before a convention of Canadian literary and social clubs. Mr. Sing said:

India is changing more rapidly than perhaps any other section of the modern world. To my mind Britain has wrought very much for India. A couple of centuries ago our land was one reft with internal, intestinal feuds. It was worse than a "bone of contention," which kept half a dozen European nations constantly wrangling with one another for the possession of the land of gold, as it was then known among the fighting powers. Its people, ignorant and superstitious, oppressed and harassed by lawless liberties and political usurpers, labored under social,



THE UNEASY INDIAN ELEPHANT.

KING EDWARD: "Hold on there, what ails you?"
From *Kladderatsch* (Berlin).

economic, and political disabilities. Nationalization and self-government,—of these sentiments the native mind was incapable of perception at that period.

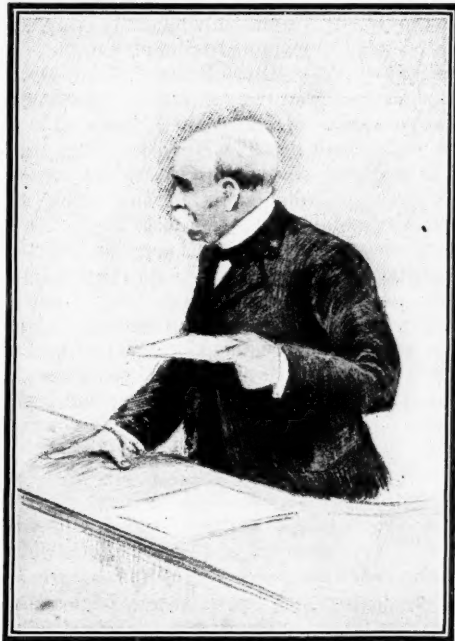
This is all changed now. Liberal education has begun to do away with caste. "The era of nationalization has already begun and a large measure of the self-government of the country by the natives of the soil is within sight." As to the desire of the average Hindu in this matter, Mr. Sing says:

Even to the most superficial of observers, it is patent that India is, politically speaking, fast becoming another "Ireland." The agitation for self-government has been waged for more than a quarter of a century with relentless vigor and has assumed an aggressively progressive form. England has her boycott in India. . . . There is no use mincing matters by hiding the fact that the political agitation in India at the present time is simply intense, and, if the demands of those who are constitutionally agitating are not met in a liberal and satisfactory way, England will have to face another "Ireland" in India.

The verdict of the native Indian press is in accord with this view. It is not disloyalty to Britain, not an attempt at armed uprising; it is a feeling on the part of the Hindu peoples that they ought to have the same mode of government in their domestic affairs as the other British colonies.

*The Triumph
of Premier
Clémenceau.*

That Premier Clémenceau has the confidence and support of the French people in his measures to preserve order and secure even-handed justice in the difficulties with the wine-growers is evident from the increasing majorities by which votes of confidence are passed in the Chambers. Upon the arrest of Dr. Ferroul, Mayor of Narbonne, and Marcellin Albert, the leader of the Midi revolt, order was quickly restored in the four disturbed departments of Aude, Hérault, Gard, and Pyrénées Orientales,—not, however, until there had been some loss of life and property, several mutinous outbreaks in the army, and some exciting scenes in the Chamber of Deputies. The government measure to prevent adulteration of wine and to correct a number of other abuses complained of by the discontented wine-growers of the Midi requires that all vineyarders make an annual declaration at the office of the Mayor of their commune concerning the acreage and total quantity of wine produced and in stock; also whether this is intended for sale or not. By this means the government hopes to keep such close track of the wine from grower to dealer that it may prevent watering or



PREMIER CLÉMENTEAU JUSTIFYING HIS "WINE LAW" BEFORE THE CHAMBERS.
From Illustration (Paris).

"sugaring." Other features of the measure, which was promulgated on June 29, advise and assist the organization of the wine-growers into societies to themselves regulate the output, to discontinue the manufacture of poor wine, and to assist the government in suppressing fraud. On July 12 the Parliament of the republic adjourned for its summer vacation, leaving the proposed income-tax law still under discussion. An attempt upon the life of President Fallières on Bastille Day (July 14), while possibly the work of anarchists, was in all probability the unpremeditated deed of a lunatic.

*Significant
Elections
in Rome.*

The celebrations, on July 4, of the centenary of Garibaldi's birthday, which was marked by unusual enthusiasm throughout Italy, included some interesting ceremonies by Italians in this country. The house in which the Italian patriot lodged while in this country still stands, in Staten Island, in New York City, and it has now been preserved (through the gifts of Italian-Americans) by being inclosed in a structure modeled after the Roman Pantheon, the whole to be a museum to the great Italian who died twenty-five years ago. The municipal elections

in the Italian capital during early July resulted in an unexpected triumph for the Socialist party, the Anti-Clerical "bloc" electing no fewer than twenty-four of the twenty-nine members of the council (one-third of the entire body) who were chosen this year. The influence of the church was not able to keep many Catholics even from voting for Socialist candidates. Taken in conjunction with the remarkable Socialist advance in Austria, the recent increase in the Socialist vote in Germany (although the electoral battle itself went against Socialism in the Fatherland), large Socialist gains in the bye elections in England, and the growing power of socialistic organization and legislation in France, the result of this election is a significant sign of the times.

Next year Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria-Hungary will have reigned over his polyglot realm for sixty years. Preparations are already in progress for extensive celebrations

Parliamentary
Activity in
Austria.



DR. WEISKIRCHNER, NEW PRESIDENT OF THE AUSTRIAN REICHSRATH.



HUNGARY'S RACE TROUBLES.

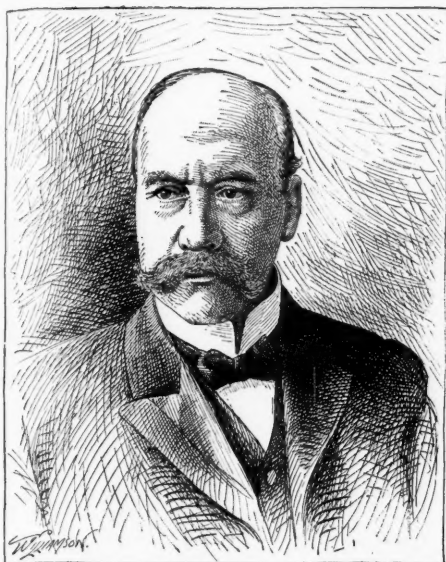
Kossuth sewing the Empire together above, while the workman below cheers for universal suffrage!

From the *Neue Glühlichter* (Vienna).

of this event. His Imperial Majesty is reported to have recently remarked that he himself desires to commemorate this occasion by the accomplishment of universal suffrage throughout the entire country. Austria itself now possesses full manhood suffrage, and it is on the program of the government to extend the unlimited franchise to Hungary also. The preponderance of Socialist representatives in the new Reichsrath has resulted in the election of Dr. Weiskirchner, a Christian Socialist, as president of the Chamber by a large majority vote. Dr. Weiskirchner is a comparatively young man, now in his forty-seventh year. It is a significant fact that this "orthodox Catholic politician, whose zeal has not been disfigured by ultra-clerical fanaticism," received at the balloting the unanimous support of such powerful and divergent Parliamentary groups as the Christian Socialists, the non-Clerical Germans, the Poles, and the Czechs.

Race Troubles
in
Hungary.

Hungary, the other half of the Dual Monarchy, is having her own parliamentary troubles. Count Pejacsevich, Ban of Croatia, an official who



DR. LUDWIG HOLLE, NEW PRUSSIAN MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

represents this Hungarian dependency at Budapest and is responsible to the Hungarian Prime Minister, having resigned, the government appointed Dr. Rakodezay to succeed him. This politician, who is reported to be in favor of Magyar preponderance in Croatia, is in much disfavor in the province, and the opposition to him has taken the form of some vigorous public demonstrations. The feeling of Hungary's dependent provinces have been further aroused by the recently enacted railway-regulation bill, which provides that none but Hungarian citizens understanding the Magyar language can be appointed on the state's railways. It is remarkable that the Hungarians, who have made such a brave and intelligent fight for the use of their language in the army, are not able to understand the feelings of the Croats and Slavonians in favor of their own tongues.

*German
Political
Changes.*

A number of important ministerial changes have taken place in Germany. Count von Posadowski, Secretary of the Interior, has been succeeded by Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, Prussian Minister of the Interior, and Dr. Studt, Prussian Minister of Public Instruction, has resigned and is to be succeeded by Dr. Holle, the Under-Secretary. Germany's position in international politics since the re-

cent Anglo-Franco-Spanish understanding has been one of almost complete isolation. Her situation is humorously depicted in the cartoon from *Wahre Jacob*, which we reproduce here. A rather sensational report received some credence in the newspapers last month to the effect that a secret treaty existed between Germany and the United States. It was alleged that certain tariff concessions had been made by Germany to this country in exchange for what amounted to an alliance. Of course secret treaties between our own and any foreign government are impossible. Inability to understand this fact has caused more than one European diplomat to make miscalculations.

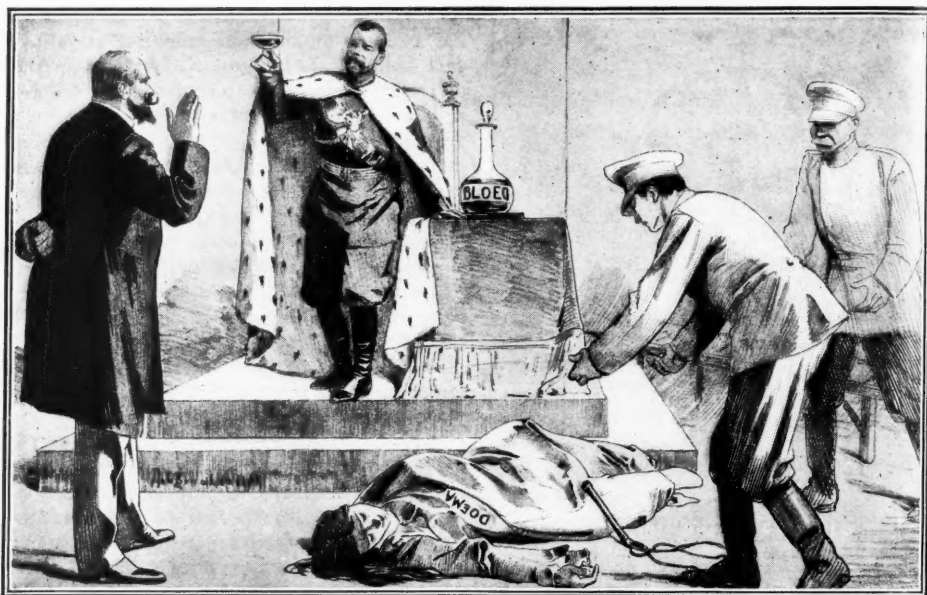
*The
Chaos in
Russia.*

With the dissolution, on June 16, of the second Russian Duma, the distracted empire of the Czar entered upon another period of disorder and anarchy. Organized repression from above is met by organized revolution from below. Law-breaking, assassination, and robbery have burst out again upon an extended scale. The assassination, on July 16, of General Alikhanov, known as "the Beast," by a revolutionist's bomb, removed one of the most hated of Russian reactionists. The Radicals now openly announce that they have placed the Czar upon their death roll. These



GERMANY IN HER ISOLATION—NO ONE WANTS AN ALLIANCE WITH HER.

From *Wahre Jacob* (Stuttgart).



THE HAGUE CONFERENCE AND THE DISSOLUTION OF THE RUSSIAN DUMA.

CZAR NICHOLAS (to Premier Stolypin): "This is the moment when I must reply to the greeting of the Hague Peace Conference. Wire them, Stolypin, that I, their patron, drink to them. Vive Liberty. Long life to Peace."

STOLYPIN: "Sire, methinks I can even now hear the applause"

From the *Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam).

Radicals are planning a congress to be held in London some time during the current month, at which they will prepare a relentless Terrorist campaign, the boycotting of the third Duma, and a great armed uprising of the masses. As for the third Duma, which is to be balloted for in September, it is evident that this will not be a Parliament in any sense of the word, but merely a bureau to register the Czar's will. It will be a thoroughly Russian body, the representatives of the minor nationalities being virtually eliminated. Up to the present we have seen little more than the beginning of the real Russian revolution. The reactionary court camarilla has proved itself more than a match for the earnest but undisciplined Liberals. As the lines of the contest are drawn tighter it is evident that years of struggle and bloodshed will pass before Russia realizes constitutionalism. It may take another ten or fifteen years, and it may call for armed European intervention, but Russia will be free in the end. The wonder is, not that freedom and constitutionalism have

been delayed so long, but that, for so many years, against such tremendous opposition, and through so much oppression and suffering, the Russian people still keep up the battle. They will win at last.

Latin-American Notes.

Items of history in the making from our Latin-American neighbors during the past few weeks include the consolidation of the two great railway systems of Mexico under government control, with a capital of \$460,000,000; the settlement of what threatened to be a serious strike among the tobacco-workers of Cuba, and the purchase by the government of all church-owned property in the diocese of Havana; the exchange, on July 8, of ratifications of the Santo Domingo treaty; and the installation of a new cabinet in Venezuela. An official estimate recently made public puts the cost of intervention in Cuba (up to June 30 of the present year) at \$3,500,000. Unsettled political and economic conditions continue in the Central American States.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From June 20 to July 19, 1907.)

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

June 20.—Col. Samuel P. Colt withdraws from the Rhode Island Senatorship contest.

June 21.—Ex-Governor Pennypacker of Pennsylvania testifies before the Harrisburg Capitol Investigation Committee.

June 24.—President Roosevelt appoints Michael E. Bannin, of New York, an Indian Commissioner....Governor Hughes, of New York, sends to the Legislature a special message urging the passage of the Constitutional Apportionment bill.

June 25.—Details of the plan for the pensioning of federal civil employees are completed at Washington.

June 26.—The New York Legislature adjourns....President Roosevelt appoints Chief Justice Walter F. Frear, of the Hawaiian Supreme Court, to be Governor of Hawaii.

June 28.—Governor Hughes, of New York, announces his appointments for the Public-Utilities Commissions of city and State.

June 29.—The United States Government's fiscal year is closed with a surplus of approximately \$87,000,000....Governor Hoke Smith, of Georgia, urges the limitation of the franchise and corporation legislation.

July 1.—The New York Public-Utilities Commissions begin their official existence.... President Roosevelt accepts the resignation of W. R. Willcox as postmaster of New York.... The Rhode Island Republican State Central Committee indorses the candidacy of George P. Wetmore for the United States Senate.

July 2.—Governor Hughes, of New York, issues a call for an extraordinary session of the Legislature; Attorney-General Jackson advises the Secretary of State to call a special election of Senators next fall under the apportionment of 1894.

July 8.—The New York Legislature meets in extraordinary session; Governor Hughes asks for a constitutional apportionment and a law for direct primary nominations.... Mayor Eugene E. Schmitz is sentenced at San Francisco to five years' imprisonment in the penitentiary for extortion from French restaurants.... Mayor McClellan, of New York, makes sweeping changes in the city departments.

July 9.—United States Senator Augustus O. Bacon, of Georgia, is unanimously re-elected by the Legislature.... The San Francisco Board of Supervisors select Charles Boxtton, a member of the board, to succeed Supervisor James J. Gallagher as acting Mayor of the city.... The Interstate Commerce Commission's report on the financial operations of E. H. Harriman is laid before President Roosevelt.

July 10.—The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railroad is indicted at Chicago on sixty-five counts on the charge of rebating.

July 11.—President Roosevelt appoints Frank

A. Leach Director of the Mint, to succeed George E. Roberts.

July 12.—Announcement is made that Senator R. M. La Follette, of Wisconsin, will be a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1908.



KAÏD SIR HARRY MACLEAN.

(Commander of the Moroccan Sultan's bodyguard; captured by the bandit Raisuli last month and held for ransom.)

July 13.—The report of the Interstate Commerce Commission on its investigation of the Harriman railroad lines is made public.

July 16.—Dr. Edward R. Taylor is elected Mayor of San Francisco by the Board of Supervisors.

July 19.—A clash of authority between the State authorities of North Carolina and the United States Circuit Court is occasioned by the sentence of ticket-sellers convicted of violating the State railroad-rate law.... The Rhode Island Republican State Central Committee accepts the

resignation of Gen. Charles R. Brayton as member of the executive committee.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

June 20.—The French Government is forced to explain to the Chamber of Deputies its action in the use of force to restrain the wine-growers. The Irish National Directory meets in London. The debate on the labor question in the Transvaal Parliament continues.

June 21.—In the Transvaal Parliament the motion condemning General Botha's labor policy is defeated by a vote of 45 to 21. The Cape Colony Parliament is opened. The French Chamber of Deputies, by a majority of 104, upholds the government's decision to suppress by force the wine-growers' revolt. Delegates representing all the Russian revolutionary groups reject by a vote of 47 to 19 the proposal to declare a general strike.

June 22.—The Lords committee on the reform of the British House of Lords meets and elects Lord Rosebery chairman. The French Chamber of Deputies passes the government's bill for preventing the adulteration of wine. The Russian Zemsto Congress opens in Moscow.

June 24.—In the British House of Commons Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Premier, introduces a motion to curtail the power of the House of Lords.

June 25.—In the British House of Commons a Labor party amendment to the Premier's motion proposes the abolition of the House of Lords. The Venezuelan cabinet resigns owing to the action of the national Congress in condemning the policy of the Minister of Finance.

June 26.—The British House of Commons, by vote of 432 to 147, adopts the Premier's resolution in favor of curtailing the power of the House of Lords; the Labor party amendment for the abolition of the House of Lords is rejected by a vote of 315 to 100. M. von Schwanebach, Controller of the Empire, resigns from the Russian cabinet.

June 27.—The South Australian and New Zealand parliaments are opened.

June 28.—The French Chamber of Deputies, by a majority of 120, votes confidence in the government's policy regarding the suppression of the wine-growers' agitation; the French Senate adopts the bill for the suppression of the adulteration of wine. The Constitutional Democrats of Russia issue a circular appealing to the party to begin preparations for the coming elections to the Duma.

July 3.—The Russian Government orders the relaxation of measures against the Jews.

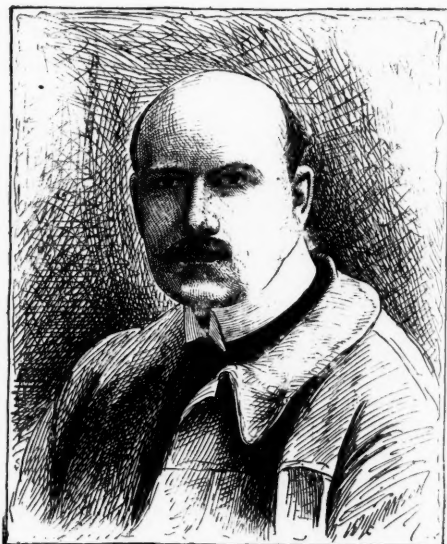
July 4.—Forty Croatian deputies leave the Hungarian Parliament as a protest against the government's railroad bill.

July 10.—The French Minister of Finance, M. Caillaux, speaks in support of the Income-Tax bill before the Chamber of Deputies.

July 11.—The French Senate and Chamber resolve to maintain the present taxation scheme in 1908.

July 12.—The French Parliament adjourns.

July 15.—Richard Croker declines the Nation-



DR. ARTHUR KAMPF, NEWLY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL FINE ARTS ACADEMY, OF BERLIN.

alist nomination for the British Parliament from East Wicklow.

July 17.—One hundred and sixty-nine members of the first Russian Duma who drew up the Viborg manifesto are arraigned for trial before the Court of Appeals at St. Petersburg.

July 18.—The Korean ministry resigns.

July 19.—The Emperor of Korea abdicates; the imperial seal is transferred to the Crown Prince; the Japanese post forces at all points of danger in Seoul.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

June 21.—The last question remaining between the United States and Turkey is settled by Ambassador Leishman at Constantinople.

June 24.—President Roosevelt signs the treaty between the United States and Santo Domingo.

June 26.—Secretary Taft announces that American occupation will continue in Cuba for eighteen months.

June 29.—It is announced that the Russian Government is preparing to take action to prevent massacres in the Armenian provinces of Asia-Minor. A meeting of seven Japanese chambers of commerce draws up addresses to similar American bodies and to President Roosevelt regarding alleged discrimination in San Francisco. The United States takes steps to purchase all the church property in the Cuban diocese of Havana.

July 2.—It is announced that Honduras, Guatemala, and Salvador have united to oppose Zelaya's plan to consolidate the republics. The United States declines to accept the answer made by President Castro of Venezuela to the American demands.

July 3.—France takes formal possession of the

new Siamese territory awarded under the recent treaty.

July 4.—Great Britain demands of Morocco that prompt steps be taken for the release of Sir Harry MacLean, commander of the Moroccan Sultan's bodyguard, who was captured by Raisuli through treachery.... Sir Edward Grey states in the British House of Commons that Great Britain's claim against China is based on the damages actually incurred in the Boxer outbreak.

July 5.—M. Pichon, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, states that the relations between France and Germany are excellent and that the Franco-Spanish agreement is another step toward the peace of the world.

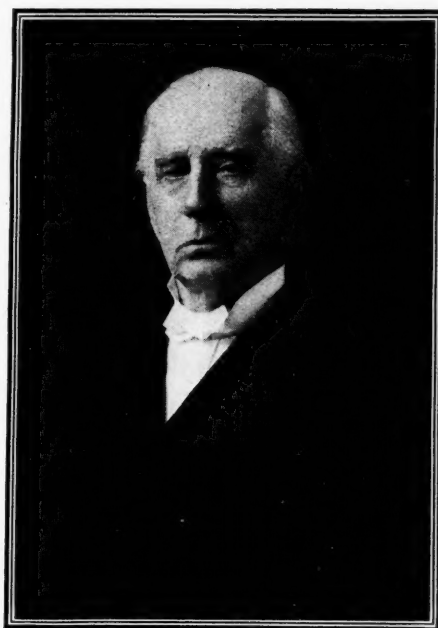
July 7.—The leader of the Chinese reform movement appeals to President Roosevelt for modification of the law excluding Chinese from the United States.

July 8.—A semi-official note published in Germany expresses pleasure with the sentiment of France for a cordial understanding between the two nations.

July 9.—The French Government deprecates the sensational comment of certain French newspapers regarding the American-Japanese situation.

July 10.—The authorities of the Congo Free State request the immediate opening of negotiations with Belgium for annexation.... It is announced that Russia and China have reached an agreement on the customs in northern Manchuria.

July 12.—The economic war between Greece



BISHOP THOMAS BOWMAN.

(The senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church celebrated his ninetieth birthday on July 15.)



BRONZE MEDALLION BY KARL BITTER PRESENTED TO MR. ROBERT C. OGDEN, OF NEW YORK, ON HIS SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY BY PARTICIPANTS IN CONFERENCES FOR EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH.

and Roumania having ended, it is announced that diplomatic relations will be resumed.... It is announced by President Roosevelt, after entertaining Admiral Yamamoto and Ambassador Aoki, that a thorough understanding and cordial friendship exist between the United States and Japan.

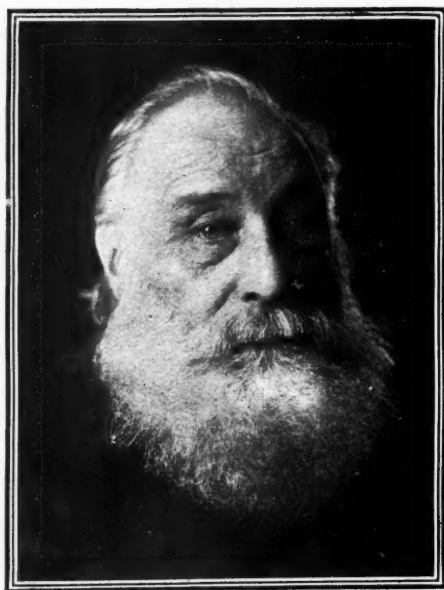
July 13.—A statue of Garibaldi, given by Italy, is unveiled in Paris.

July 14.—It is announced at Washington that the United States has established a Far Eastern Bureau of the State Department, to have charge of all correspondence and preliminary treaty negotiations with the Oriental governments.

July 15.—The foreign ministers of Italy and Austria meet at Besio, Lombardi, and announce that they are in entire accord.

July 16.—Preparations are completed for a meeting of the Russian and German emperors in Finnish waters.

July 17.—President Roosevelt receives General Morteza Khan, special ambassador from Persia, who formally an-



THE LATE SIR WILLIAM PERKIN.
(Discoverer of aniline dyes.)

nounces the accession of the new Shah to the throne.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE.

June 20.—It is officially announced at The Hague that the reservation of the right of the United States to bring up the question of limitation of armaments does not necessarily mean that the question will be raised.

June 22.—The first and second committees of the conference meet and divide into sub-committees; several proposals regulating rules of warfare and one providing for the consideration of the Drago doctrine are introduced.

June 24.—The first and fourth committees of the conference meet and Delegate Choate of the United States introduces in the latter committee a motion regarding private property at sea.

June 25.—The conference discusses the British and German proposals for a high international prize court.

June 26.—The British delegates make proposals to abolish contraband of war....General Porter introduces a proposal restricting the rights of a belligerent in regard to bombardment of unfortified towns.

June 28.—Delegate Choate, of the United States, urges the exemption of all private property, except contraband, at sea; this view is opposed by M. Nelidoff, of Russia.

July 1.—Queen Wilhelmina, of Holland, receives the chiefs of delegations to the conference.

July 2.—The Japanese delegates introduce five proposals covering the rights of belligerent warships in neutral ports.

July 3.—Further proposals to modify the conduct of war are introduced at the conference.

July 4.—A petition signed by over two million Americans and favoring a general arbitration treaty is presented.

July 5.—The American proposal for the inviolability of private property at sea is discussed by the committee on the Geneva Convention; Great Britain, Germany, and Russia oppose the plan.

July 8.—The American delegation introduces a proposal regarding an arbitration court on the lines of the United States Supreme Court.

July 10.—Count Tornielli introduces a proposal regarding the bombardments of unfortified towns which embodies the views of all the countries interested in the question.

July 16.—General Horace Porter speaks in support of the American proposal for a modified Drago doctrine before a sub-committee of the conference.

July 17.—Twenty delegates at a committee meeting vote in favor of the American principle regarding the inviolability of private property at sea; eleven oppose the proposal.

July 18.—Delegate Choate states the reasons that have led the United States to favor a general arbitration treaty, and Dr. Drago supports his doctrine in its original form.

July 19.—General Porter speaks in opposition to a British motion regarding the capture of vessels furnishing supplies to belligerents.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

June 20.—Five men are killed in an automobile accident about 100 miles from Naples, Italy....The new Catskill water-supply system for New York City, to cost \$161,000,000 and to add 600,000,000 daily gallons to the city's supply, is formally inaugurated.

June 21.—All the native opium dens in Shanghai are closed by an imperial edict....The State closes its case in the trial of William D. Haywood, at Boise, Idaho, for the assassination of ex-Governor Steunenburg.

June 22.—The Consolidated Copper Company, of New York, is chartered in Delaware with a capital of \$50,000,000.

June 24.—The Pacific Steam Navigation Company's coasting steamer *Santiago* is wrecked on the Chilean coast north of Corral; about ninety persons are drowned.

June 26.—The University of Oxford, England, confers degrees on Ambassador Reid and Mark Twain (see page 167)....Richard Croker's Orby wins the Irish Derby.

June 27.—King Edward lays the foundation stone of the new extension to the British Museum.

June 28.—It is announced that a great combination of iron and steel manufacturers is being formed in Great Britain to fight American and German competition to control the world's trade.

June 29.—Contracts are awarded for two American 20,000-ton battleships.

July 1.—The corporation of Dublin, by a vote

of 28 to 13, decides to confer the freedom of the city on Richard Croker.

July 2.—Cotton prices advance to the highest point since 1876.

July 4.—Governor Hughes, of New York, and President Woodrow Wilson, of Princeton University, are speakers at the exercises in honor of the signers of the Declaration of Independence at the Jamestown Exposition.

July 6.—John D. Rockefeller is a witness in the Standard Oil hearing before Judge Landis in Chicago.

July 10.—A legal fight is begun by the United States Government against the Tobacco Trust.

July 15.—An explosion of powder in a turret of the United States battleship *Georgia* while at target practice in Massachusetts Bay causes the death of ten men and the injury of many others.

July 18.—Three thousand persons are prostrated by the heat during a parade of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, at Philadelphia.

OBITUARY.

June 21.—Isidor Wormser, a well-known New York banker, 77.

June 22.—Ex-United States Senator Lucien Baker, of Kansas, 61....William Findlay Shunk, the engineer who supervised the construction of the New York City elevated railroads, 77.

June 23.—Rev. Norman Fox, D.D., ex-Mayor of Morristown, N. J.

June 24.—Joseph Knight, the editor of *Notes and Queries*, London, 78.

June 25.—Sir John Hall, ex-Premier of New Zealand, 82.

June 27.—Mrs. Elizabeth Cabot Cary Agassiz, widow of the famous Harvard professor of zoölogy, Louis Agassiz, 85....Dr. Frank Horace Getchell, a well-known Philadelphia physician, 72.

June 28.—Count Peter Heyden, the Russian political leader, 71.

June 30.—General Lono, Spanish Minister of War....Francis Murphy, the temperance lecturer, 71.

July 1.—Count Constantino Nigra, dean of Italian diplomats, 80....Nehemiah G. Ordway, for five years Governor of the Territory of Dakota, 79.

July 2.—Hiram J. Ayres, inventor of giant powder, 84....Col. Mason Whiting Tyler, a veteran of the Civil War, 67.

July 3.—Rear-Admiral Norman von Helbreich Farquhar, retired, 67....Louis Magee, an electrical engineer and authority on the construction and operation of electric street railways, 45.

July 4.—Prof. Ernst Kuno Fischer, of Heidelberg, Germany, 83....Dr. Richard Henry Derby, a New York physician of high standing, 63....Francis B. Thurber, one of the organizers of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation, 65.

July 5.—Judge Charles Swayne, of the United

States Court for the Northern District of Florida, 65....Ex-United States Senator J. G. McMaken, of Ohio, 61.

July 6.—Rev. Elijah Ramsay Donehoo, prominent in Chinese mission work, 68.

July 8.—Dr. Elseus Sophus Bugge, the Norwegian philologist, 72....Sir Spencer Walpole, K.C.B., the English writer, 68....Dr. William E. LeGrange Ralph, an authority on American birds....Prof. James McGranahan, a well-known hymn-writer, 67.



THE LATE ANGELO HEILPRIN.

(Naturalist, paleontologist, traveler, and explorer.)

July 10.—Rev. William Kirkus, a retired Protestant Episcopal clergyman, 77....Prof. Louis E. Ahlers, of Colorado College, 42....Sir William Henry Broadbent, physician in ordinary to the King and Prince of Wales, 72.

July 11.—The thirteenth Baron Arundel of Wardour, 73.

July 14.—Sir William Henry Perkin, the discoverer of the first aniline color, 69....Ex-State Senator Henry J. Coggeshall, of Oneida County, N. Y., 62.

July 15.—Ex-Congressman John H. O'Neal, of Indiana, 69.

July 16.—Theobald Chartran, the French painter, 58....Eugène René Poubelle, formerly French ambassador to the Vatican, 76.

July 17.—Angelo Heilprin, the geographer and explorer, 54....Admiral John Pearse Maclear, of the British navy, retired, 69.

July 18.—Hector Henri Malot, the French novelist, 77.

July 19.—Churchill J. White, a pioneer banker of Kansas City, 82.

CARTOONS OF THE MONTH.



"HAVE A LOOK! HAVE A LOOK!"
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland).



THAT INTERVIEW AS IT WASN'T.

ADMIRAL YAMAMOTO: "Good morning, Mr. President. We are going to have a war——"

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT: "What's that?"

ADMIRAL YAMAMOTO: "We are going to have a warm day to-day."

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT: "Oh, yes, yes! I think we are."

From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).



YOU'RE SAFE FROM THAT CAT, LITTLE BIRD!
From the *Globe-Democrat* (St. Louis).



"MADE IN JAPAN."
From the *Press* (Philadelphia).



THE JAP AND JONATHAN.
PEACE: "Please have some sense of decency! You might at least wait till the Peace Conference is finished!"
From *Pasquino* (Turin).



THE INTERNATIONAL PEST.
THE MIKADO: "There's the only 'yellow peril' that you or I have to fear!"
From the *News* (Baltimore).



NEWS TO THEM.
THE CHECKER PLAYERS: "What's all the row about?"
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



UNCLE SAM: "I didn't ask anybody to look!"
From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus).



From the Ohio State Journal (Columbus).



From the Herald (New York).



THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES ARE "WARMING UP."
From the *Inter-Ocean* (Chicago).



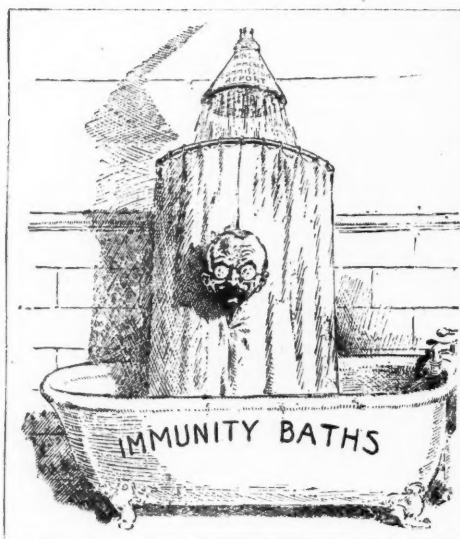
"STUNG!"

(Suggested by Colonel Watterson's recent utterances
on the subject of Presidential candidates.)
From the *Journal* (Detroit).



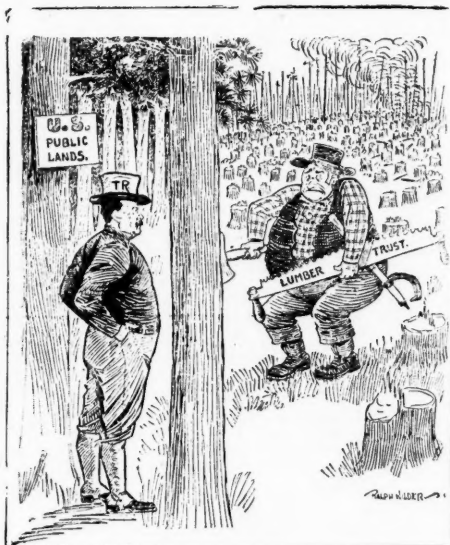
OIL, YES, BRYAN IS WILLING.

Mother, may I go in to swim?
Yes, my darling daughter;
Hang your clothes on a hickory limb,
But don't go near the water.
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



IS THIS WHERE MR. HARRIMAN STANDS?

From the *World* (New York).



"WHOA!"

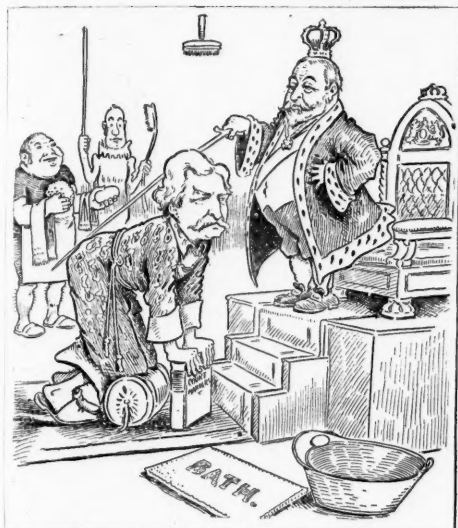
(Apropos of the President's order reserving the public timber and coal lands.)

From the *Record Herald* (Chicago).



THE DELUGE.

From the *Post* (Cincinnati).



THE CONNECTICUT YANKEE IN KING EDWARD'S COURT.

(It would be very appropriate for King Edward to make Mark Twain a Knight of the Bath.)

From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



KING FULL ON DEUCES.

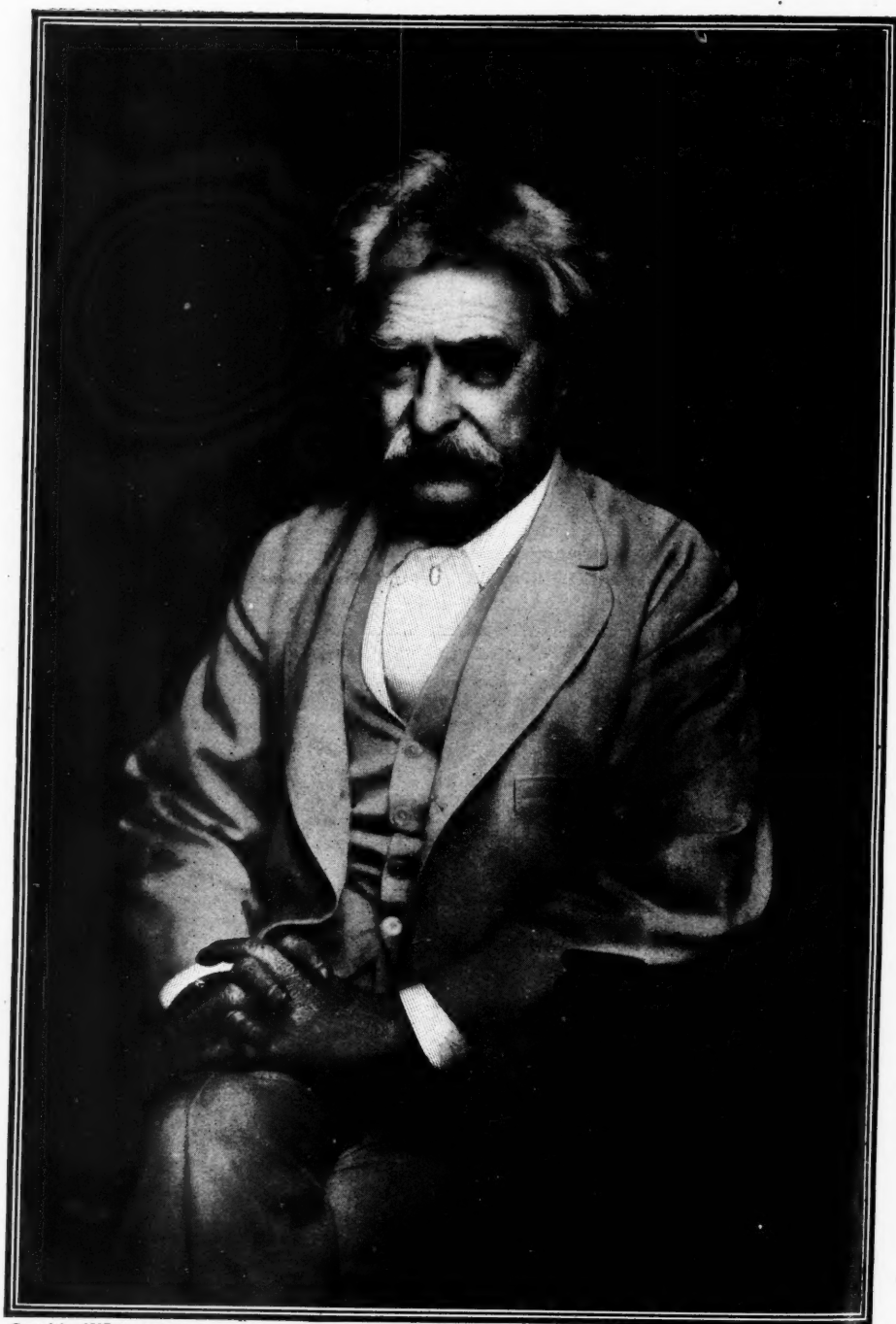
(Apropos of Mark Twain's recent enthusiastic reception in England.)

From the *Pioneer Press* (St. Paul).



CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN RUSSIA.

From the *World* (New York)



Copyright, 1907, by A. F. Bradley, N. Y.

MR. SAMUEL L. CLEMENS (MARK TWAIN) AT SEVENTY-TWO.

MARK TWAIN, DOCTOR OF LETTERS.

BY SAMUEL E. MOFFETT.

ALONG with the splendid and touching welcome given to Mark Twain on his latest, and perhaps his last, voyage to England, a few captious voices were heard suggesting that it was perhaps a little beneath the dignity of Oxford to bestow her honors upon a mere fun-maker. It happened that Mr. Clemens had not needed to wait for Oxford to make him a doctor,—Yale had attended to that six years earlier, and her example had been followed by the University of Missouri. But when the citadel of academic conservatism in England opened its gates, the worshipers of the conventional in literature had to sit up and take notice.

An honorary degree usually has little relation with the special attainments of the recipient. It means merely that he has done something that has brought him into note. He may have been elected Governor of Massachusetts, or have broken the Arctic records, or have invented a dirigible balloon. But a doctorate of letters for Mark Twain is not merely honorary, but in the strictest sense earned. A doctor's degree acquired in course implies about four years' work in a preparatory school, four more in college, and two or three years of postgraduate special study, ten or eleven years' work in all. Mark Twain has been engaged in literary specialization for over forty years, with a number of years of preliminary work before that. His preparatory school was the country printing office, and his college the city newspaper, from which he was graduated, *summa cum laude*, forty years ago. At thirteen he was breathing the scent of printers' ink. When he went East, at seventeen, "for to admire" the world, supporting himself by "subbing" on New York and Philadelphia papers, he spent his spare time in the public libraries. The library is the real university of literature. Some kinds of learning can be pumped into a student by a skilled instructor, but nobody can gain a knowledge and an appreciation of literature by listening to lectures, by cramming for examinations, or in any other way than by cultivating a prolonged and loving personal intimacy with books.

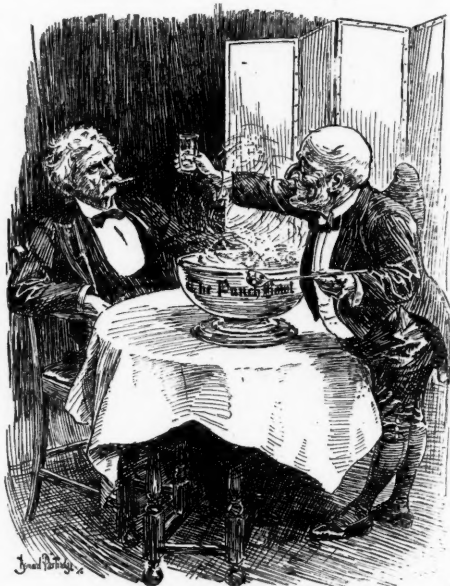
In Nevada and California, when Mark Twain was making a reputation as "the wild humorist of the Pacific Slope," this intimacy had already been carried to considerable lengths. "The Innocents Abroad," with whose publication his collegiate work may be said to have ended and his postgraduate work to have begun, affords a fair measure of the extent of his literary education at that time. There are some considerable gaps, notably on the side of art, but there are allusions throughout which make it clear that "the wild humorist" was not the unlettered innocent he allowed his Fergusonsons to think him. From this time his cultural progress was rapid. He explored English literature, not only in its trodden highways, but in its half-blazed trail. His catholic taste ranged from the medieval chroniclers to the modern novelists, but always he sought to reach the heart of each age through the writers who were nearest to it. He loved the unconscious revelations of Pepys, and he steeped his mind in Shakespeare, the interpreter of every time. He wrestled valorously with the writhing sinuosities of the German language, and if he did not get the monster completely tamed he had it pretty fairly cowed. He made the acquaintance of French, and to some extent of Italian, and those fields of Continental literature which he could not enter by way of the original tongues he inspected through translations. And all this time he was steadily producing literature of his own,—literature that the Brahminical world of the universities no longer pretends to ignore.

At no time, not even when the exuberance of youth and the recklessness of mining-camp life were combining to give him the reputation of an untamed wag, was Mark Twain ever a mere joker. As he has lately said in his autobiography, his temperament has always been inwardly serious. As a boy, with his "Tom Sawyer" days hardly over, this seriousness cropped out in his family letters, full of staid reflections and carefully thought-out plans of work. His humor seems to have been something apart from himself,—almost like the emanation of a second per-

sonality. It bubbled out in quaint, irresistible phrases, without will on his part, and without effort. It made it impossible for him to write a commonplace letter. But all this was merely the froth of his deeper thought. The humorist who has nothing but froth dies when the bubbles burst, and those readers, a generation ago, who could see nothing of Mark Twain's work but the foam, thought that he would disappear, like the crowd of newspaper jokers of the day.

The fact that he has not disappeared, but has filled a steadily growing place in literature for forty years, ought to make it plain that "humorist" is a very inadequate label for him. No humorist has ever won permanent fame by virtue of his humor alone. The jokes of Aristophanes were excruciatingly funny in their day, but if our appreciation of this old Attic comedy depended on its power to keep us laughing now, the shelves whereon it reposes would be even dustier than they are. Mark Twain holds his place because he has thought, deeply and seriously, about mankind and its needs. This thought has been colored, of course, by his own situation and experiences. Once, when he was young, and the prizes of life were fresh and sweet, and the road from success to success stretched invitingly ahead, and the Great Divide seemed a long way off, his feelings were optimistic. He looked on the bright side of everything. If everything was not for the best in the best of all possible worlds, things were at least doing very well, and this was a pretty good world. Later, when bereavements came, and disappointments, and the rough edges of life intruded where their touch seemed a profanation, and fame seemed to have less enchantment in the possessing than had glowed about it in the winning, and the snow fell upon the hair of friends, and life offered little more to look forward to, his thoughts became more somber. But the character of his philosophy has never changed. From the first to the last he has fought the good fight. Whether he has fought in the buoyant certainty of victory or in the resigned expectation of defeat, he has always been on the same side.

He has always tried to lighten the world's ills, to abolish injustices, and to help the victims of oppression, whether the oppressor be an American boss, a Russian Czar or a Belgian rubber-trading King. Nobody ever needs to ask where he stands. It is enough to know that a wrong has been committed to know that he is against it. The sufferer may be an American negro, an Indian, a



MR. PUNCH'S TRIBUTE TO "A MASTER OF HIS ART."

"Sir, I honor myself by drinking your health. Long life to you—and happiness—and perpetual youth!"

From *Punch* (London), June 26, 1907.

Chinaman, a Filipino, or a Congo savage,—he will find a defender in Mark Twain. And with all that there is charity for the oppressor, too, unless he has sinned against the light. The sympathy with the slave in "Huckleberry Finn" was no more perfect than the sympathy with the slave-holder who suffered from the same system. That is why the world is learning to call Mark Twain something more than "humorist."

CHARLES S. MELLEN: RAILROAD ORGANIZER.

BY GEORGE W. BATSON.

(Of *The Wall Street Journal*, New York.)

AN incident that was destined to have a revolutionary effect on the transportation lines of New England took place in Concord, N. H., one summer's day in 1869. Charles S. Mellen, a youth of eighteen, fresh from high school, was contemplating whether it would be Harvard or Dartmouth. He happened to meet a friend who had just been appointed cashier of the Northern New Hampshire Railroad. This cashier offered young Mellen a job. And, as luck would have it, he denied himself the Harvard or Dartmouth which most young men of that day envied, and accepted a clerkship in the new cashier's office at \$25 a month.

Thirty-eight years almost to a day are passed. To-day the same Mellen is arbiter of the transportation destinies of New England. His appears to be a colossal mission. It is not merely to unify and harmonize the transportation lines of New England and to develop their traffic-producing possibilities; but, having already raised them out of a position of subserviency, to establish them in a position of equality among the railroads of the country.

IN THE NORTHERN PACIFIC.

James J. Hill, the greatest railroad builder who has ever lived, and the foremost railway economist of the age, was the master-mind of the Great Northern Railway, which practically parallels the Northern Pacific from St. Paul to Puget Sound. A dominant interest in the Northern Pacific was acquired in the middle '90's by Mr. Hill and J. P. Morgan. The Hill-Morgan people sought to make the Great Northern and Northern Pacific friends instead of foes. At that time Mr. Morgan was the foremost figure in the financial world. He knew and thought highly of C. S. Mellen. It was not unnatural, therefore, that Morgan should have selected Mellen for the presidency of the Northern Pacific. He was a man of nearly thirty years' experience in the railroad field. He knew the transcontinental situation well.

AN EYE TO BUSINESS.

Now, Mellen had his own conception of what the duties of a railroad president were.

Regardless of the Great Northern, he proposed to make the Northern Pacific jump from the start. He began to look for business and he found it. For illustration: James J. Hill was the close friend of Marcus Daly, the Copper King. Daly controlled the great Anaconda mine of Butte. The Anaconda smelter was over in Anaconda. The enormous business controlled by the great Daly properties went, of course, to their friend, J. J. Hill, and his Great Northern road. Mellen decided to get some of this business. It was a prize worth going for. The Union Pacific and Northern Pacific jointly owned the Stewart road from Butte to Anaconda. Mellen bought out the Union Pacific's interest in the Montana Union Railway, which controlled this Stewart branch. Nobody knew why. Most of the business between Butte and Anaconda was controlled by Marcus Daly and went to his own road, the Butte, Anaconda & Pacific. Daly hated the Northern Pacific. In his estimation nothing was too bad to say about it. One day Mellen went to Daly and offered to lease him this Stewart line between Butte and Anaconda. He pointed out that the acquisition of this would give Daly complete control of transportation between Butte and Anaconda. Daly was much surprised at the offer, but quickly said yes. Nobody saw where Mellen gained anything; but the fact was that Daly wanted that road. He began to think pretty well of Mellen. Possibly the Northern Pacific, after all, was not such a bad road. Progress was being made.

THE NORTHERN PACIFIC BEGINS TO JUMP.

Daly had a 40,000-acre place and race-track up in Hamilton, Mont. A fine hotel was there, the Ravalli, a favorite amusement place for Montana people. The train service between Hamilton and Butte was poor. One day Mellen ordered a new train service between these points. He had the cars painted green and on the side of each, in great copper-colored letters, the words "COPPER CITY LIMITED." They were Marcus Daly's racing colors. The old man was greatly pleased. Mellen became a prince of good fellows. It was not long before the

enormous business of the Anaconda became diverted from the Great Northern to the Northern Pacific. J. J. Hill was furious. He had not reckoned on this. Thenceforth it became a battle royal between Hill and Mellen. Mellen's eternal propensity for fixing up his connections began at once. He plunged right in and began to look for business on every side. He bought roads right and left. He bought the Seattle & International, running from Seattle to British Columbia, and the Spokane Falls & Northern, both largely in Great Northern territory. Hill called it an unfriendly act. He did not figure on this sort of thing. Moreover, the Northern Pacific began to grow at a terrific rate.

HE LEAVES THE NORTHERN PACIFIC.

The Hill influence in the Northern Pacific, however, was increased. The Northern Securities Company was formed to hold the Burlington, Northern Pacific, and Great Northern. Hill was made president of the whole. Mellen's days as president of the Northern Pacific were numbered. In fact, he would have gone to the New Haven in 1900, when Charles P. Clark resigned, but C. H. Coster, the most brilliant lieutenant J. P. Morgan ever had, and one of the ablest men that ever appeared in Wall Street, said: "No. The Northern Pacific is growing too fast under the Mellen spur. The New Haven cannot have him."

The Northern Pacific situation, however, finally became intolerable to Mellen. He must have seen that he had no future there. Mr. Hill was to rule the Northwest. Some men who had Mr. Hill's ear were not overfond of Mellen. He resigned the presidency. Under his rule the Northern Pacific expanded as few roads have expanded before or since,—but to just what extent these figures will give an idea:

NORTHERN PACIFIC EARNINGS.

	1903.	*1897.	Per cent. increase.
Gross	\$46,142,105	\$17,929,000	156
Net	22,110,011	6,734,000	228

* Estimated.

"I MUST GET MELLEN OR HE WILL GET ME."

In 1892, when Mellen was general manager of the New England Railroad, he performed his duties in his usual aggressive manner. Charles P. Clark, president of the New Haven, began to get scared. He liked not such activity in his environment. A friend of Mr. Clark tells me that President Clark

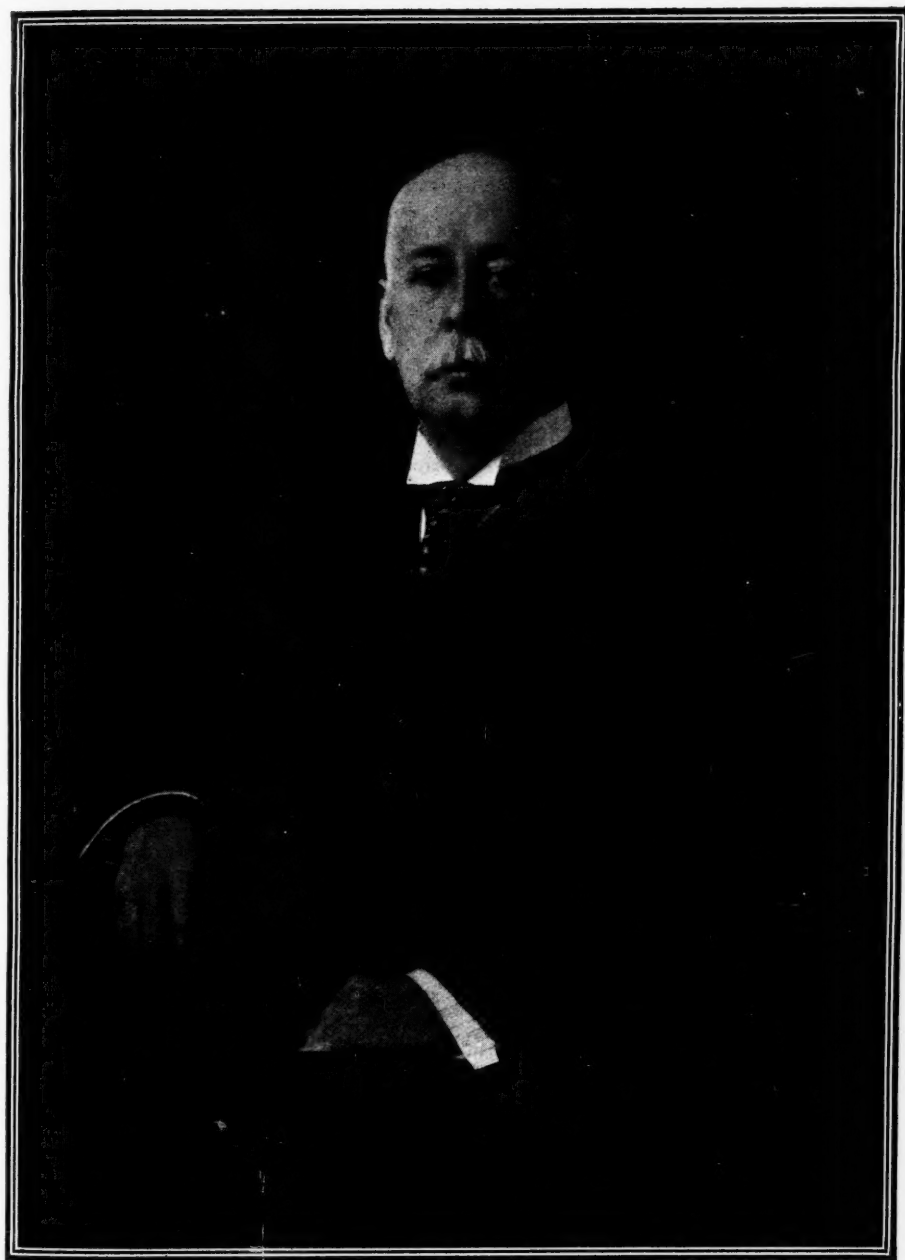
said to him one day: "It's no use. If I don't get Mellen he will get me!" It was not long before Mellen was made second vice-president of the New Haven road. The years rolled on. Charles P. Clark resigned. Immediately after Mellen's resignation from the Northern Pacific he was made president of the New Haven. The New England in which he was born and in which he received much of his railroad training seemed to have an irresistible call upon his services.

When Mellen took the presidency of the New Haven road in the fall of 1903 he tackled the hardest proposition in his career. At that time it was in a state of quasi-demoralization. Its operating account had reached enormous figures. Few men knew how weak its position really was. There was great discontent among its employees. It was known as the most hated transportation monopoly in the United States. Furthermore, one by one the railroads of New England had fast been slipping from New England's hands. The Boston & Albany had gone to the New York Central and the Vanderbilts had acquired a strong voice in the Boston & Maine. The shadow of the mighty Pennsylvania, under the able administration of Alexander J. Cassatt, was fast enveloping the New Haven. Mr. Cassatt was elected to the New Haven directorate. His road had acquired 20,000 shares of New Haven stock. People said that the days of the New Haven as an independent road were numbered.

CHANGING A RAILROAD MAP.

But a man of dogged determination and great experience in the railroad field had taken command. He threw off his coat and went to work. Less than four years have passed. In that short time the shadow of the mighty Pennsylvania has faded into the distance. The Vanderbilts have relinquished their grasp on the Boston & Maine. The Boston & Albany bids fair again to become a New England road. One by one the outsiders have been pushed back. In this brief period the change in the railroad map of New England has been complete!

The decadent New Haven of four years ago, which operated but 2000 miles of rail lines and earned about \$50,000,000 gross and a surplus of \$4,600,000 a year, to-day absolutely dominates 6600 miles of rail lines in New England and its vicinity, and hundreds of miles of water routes besides. It is earning something like \$150,000,000 gross



PRESIDENT CHARLES S. MELLEN, OF THE NEW HAVEN SYSTEM.

Mr. Mellen was born at Lowell, Mass., on August 16, 1851. He began his railroad service on September 22, 1869, as a clerk in the cashier's office of the Northern New Hampshire Railroad. He served the Northern New Hampshire and the Northern Vermont railroads in various clerical capacities until 1880, when he became assistant to the manager of the Boston & Lowell. He rose to be general superintendent of that road. In 1888 he went to the Union Pacific system as general purchasing agent, the next year becoming general traffic manager, which position he held for four years. He then returned to New England as general manager of the New York & New England Railroad, but was soon made second vice-president of the New York, New Haven & Hartford. He resigned that position in 1896 to become president of the Northern Pacific, but in 1903 returned to the New Haven, as its president.]

per annum. Its net income approximates \$35,000,000 a year. Figures have been trebled.

The New Haven's sphere of influence has been stretched from New York to Eastport, Maine, and Vanceboro on the American-Canadian line. It has been extended from Boston up into Quebec and over to Oswego on the Great Lakes and into the coal fields of Pennsylvania. Its marine lines now traverse the waters of the Atlantic seaboard from Maine to Florida. In a word, the transportation lines of New England, under Mellen rule, have been raised from a position of subserviency, that was fast becoming more subservient four years ago, to a position of power and equality amongst the railroad systems of the United States.

The methods by which the transformation has been made are simple. Hard work has been the biggest factor. Mellen has made no spectacular plays in the financial markets of the world. He has not made three bonds grow where one grew before. In fact, his policy is to make \$100 of *stock* grow where \$200 of *bonds* grew before.

Mellen at one time was auditor of the Boston & Lowell Railroad. Unexpectedly one day he was appointed superintendent. The two positions are no more alike than cherries and cheese. Mellen had never been in the operating department of a railroad. But what did he do? A fellow worker of that day tells me that Mellen took the market-man's train every morning at 4 o'clock for his Boston office. He would go out into the yard and talk with the switchman for an hour. He would ride in the baggage cars to get the views of the trainmen. He would return home on the 11 o'clock train at night. Month after month he thus put in from eighteen to twenty hours out of twenty-four. He worked as few men have worked. It was not long before he knew something about running a railroad.

FACING THE ANTHRACITE COMBINATION.

Mellen's daring knows no limits. Perhaps his purchase of New York, Ontario & Western was the most daring coup he has ever made. The true story of this coup has never been told. It illustrates how in one department a position of great weakness in the New Haven has been turned to one of great strength.

The anthracite coal roads charged a certain price for coal delivered at the various New England gateways: Campbell Hall,

Newburgh, Albany, and other points. The price of coal at all points was the same, except at Campbell Hall, where it was 20 cents less. The Campbell Hall route into New England is via the Central of New England Railroad and the Poughkeepsie Bridge, whose condition was such that it was likely to break down if more than two or three cars went over it at one time. Mellen bought the Central of New England, which controlled this route, and strengthened the Poughkeepsie Bridge. Quietly and without display, coal cars began to head for Campbell Hall. The coal business via this route soon reached very large proportions. The coal business via other points began to show a falling off. George F. Baer and others of the coal leaders awoke one morning with a terrible roar. "No wonder," said they, "coal is going through Campbell Hall. It is 20 cents less via that route." It was only a matter of a few hours before the price of coal via that route was jacked up 20 cents a ton. It looked as though Mellen was shut off. Certainly he felt the weakness of his position in the face of the powerful anthracite combination.

He thought of the Ontario & Western, which tapped the Scranton coal fields. He learned that Jacob H. Schiff, the able head of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., the greatest banking house in the world, had control of the Ontario locked up in his safe. Without consulting anybody, Mellen secured an option on this control. He went into conference with the anthracite leaders. "Gentlemen," said he, "give the New England roads a contract assuring them in the future the same proportion of through rates that they are receiving now and there will be no trouble. That is all we want. Our prosperity is in jeopardy so long as you can arbitrarily change the division of through rates."

But Mellen was president of a Podunk road. What right had he to ask this of the great anthracite combination? Surrender such a club over the New England roads? They chuckled and said, "Never!" Wall Street heard the next morning that the New Haven had bought control of New York, Ontario & Western. Mellen had exercised his option. George F. Baer and his great Reading raved; the Lehigh Valley, Delaware & Hudson and the New York Central raved; the whole anthracite combination raved. And their great financial affiliations in Wall Street raved. But all to no avail. I doubt if more than one or two of Mellen's directors knew of this affair until it

was all over. In a day the New Haven was made chooser in this situation instead of beggar. The relation between the Ontario and the Eastern trunk lines to-day is like that of a knife poised over a hog's ham,—push it and he squeals.

KINDS OF RAILROAD PRESIDENTS.

There are three kinds of railroad presidents, viz.: (1) Those who move and act, (2) those who sit and think, and (3) those who just sit. Happy it is for New England and the independence of her transportation lines that the man who now holds her traffic destinies within his grasp cannot be classified under either of the latter two divisions.

Had Mellen remained quiescent while the aggressive Charles W. Morse was at work, a sorry plight the New Haven would be in to-day. Morse's ambition appears to have been to dominate the coastwise traffic of the Atlantic seaboard. New England is dependent to a high degree upon her water transportation. Had Morse accomplished his ambition he would probably have cleaved the Achilles heel of the New Haven transportation system. But Mellen checkmated Morse at every point. Biliious critics criticised, but they did not know. Mellen would not permit Morse to put an iron fence around his Sound boats. Neither would he permit him to establish a monopoly of the coastwise traffic between Boston and New York. He has beaten Morse to a standstill. But in doing this he has been obliged to create a powerful commercial navy.

BUYING TROLLEY LINES.

Mellen early saw that the New Haven would have to interest itself in electric roads. He well knew that no other railroad had traffic conditions anything like those of the New Haven. About half its earnings are derived from the transportation of passengers. It hauls more passengers per mile of road than any railroad of importance in the United States. Mellen is an astute traffic manager. His idea was that electricity must supplant steam as motive power for railroads and that the so-called street railways would become supplementary to the trunk line railroads. It is an evidence of Mellen's foresight that it is daily becoming more evident that electricity will supplant steam as railroad motive power. Various roads are spending and have spent millions for this purpose already, and foremost

amongst these is Mellen's New Haven. Under this trolley policy upward of 1400 miles of trolley road located in Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts have been purchased by the New Haven road.

These purchases have cost many millions of dollars, but there has been no attempt to juggle securities. In fact, wherever possible the wind and water have been squeezed out. The New Haven is asking of these properties merely enough income return to pay their cost price. All their surplus earnings, which are rapidly reaching large proportions and which would make an important item if distributed among the stockholders of the New Haven road, are being diverted back into these trolley properties for permanent improvements and betterments. This policy will not only give these securities an infinitely higher value, but will give the people in the territory served a vastly improved service. As a result of this policy I am told by competent judges that the trolley investments of the New Haven road have been so greatly improved, not only by the expenditure of surplus earnings, but by the inauguration of economic methods of management, that they could be sold to-day for two and one-half times their cost to the New Haven road.

WHEN FEAR RULED.

Sixty years ago, when the New Haven was extended to Williamsbridge, New York, "fear" rather than "confidence" was the by-word of its management. Therefore, when the New Haven might have obtained on reasonable terms terminal grounds in Manhattan Island to any extent required for years to come, it elected instead to make a deal with the Vanderbilts' New York & Harlem road under which it could get to New York City over the Harlem tracks at a cost of so much per passenger mile. Thus for over half a century the New Haven road has been obliged to follow the vicissitudes of the Vanderbilt roads as regards New York City terminals.

Owing to the expansion of the New Haven's sphere of influence and the general development of business the New Haven's passenger traffic has outgrown the Grand Central facilities. With the gradual unification of the transportation lines of New England it will become imperative for the New Haven to find its own terminals in New York. The management has not been asleep to this oncoming necessity. I am told

that they have secured something like one and one-half miles of continuous water front along the Harlem River and that it is not unlikely that the future terminals of the New Haven system will be located here. Already the New Haven has made plans to strengthen its traffic facilities along the Harlem River. It is just finishing up twelve miles of six-track road. It will be one of the finest pieces of terminal road in the world. Two tracks will be exclusively for freight, two exclusively for local passenger business and two exclusively for passenger express business!

The New Haven is rapidly working toward a complete electrification of its main line between New York and Boston. Already about \$4,000,000 has been expended on the electrification of the four-track road between New York and Stamford, Conn., and it is expected that steam motive power between these points will be completely eliminated. It is inevitable that this electrification will be continued over the four-track line between New York and New Haven. The next step in the electrification of the New Haven will probably be taken at the Boston end, between Providence and Boston.

MELLEN'S PROBLEMS.

Mellen has been working toward one goal,—the unification of the railroads of New England. He has never had time until recently to give to the matter of the acquisition of the Boston & Maine. He must have known that the control of this road would eventually pass to some other interest; and he therefore kept a weather eye on it. Last February he learned that the hour of the passing of the B. & M. was at hand. He knew it would be a staggering blow for the New Haven and his plans if somebody else got it. He acted quickly and secured an option on the shares of the leading stockholders of the B. & M. To-day the New Haven directly owns nearly 40 per cent. and can influence the voting of 66 per cent. of the stock of the Boston & Maine Road. The complete merger of these lines will probably be consummated within a year or two. It is one of those acquisitions of a connecting line which President Roosevelt in his speech in Indianapolis on May 30 called desirable. The Interstate Commerce Commission in the Harriman report the other day said: "It is in the interest of the public to facilitate the consolidation of connecting lines."

I have outlined the methods by which the new New Haven system has been created.

Mellen delights in seeing his transportation lines in first-class shape. The New Haven proper has been practically rebuilt in the past four years. He has spent \$160,000,000 in this time for improvements, betterments, additions, and acquisitions. Mellen has considerable rounding out to do on his system. It is not unlikely that the Bangor & Aroostook and the Boston & Albany will pass to his control. I should not be surprised if he were to step across the Hudson and acquire the Delaware & Hudson, one of the finest of the anthracite roads. That he can have it if he wants it there can be little question. But these matters will depend on the financial and economic conditions prevailing during the next year or two.

The real live problems before Mellen are:

(1) To merge into one organization the rail lines under the New Haven's control, just as the New Haven and New England and Old Colony and others have already been merged.

(2) Further to develop and supplement his trolley lines and to bring them under one smooth-running organization.

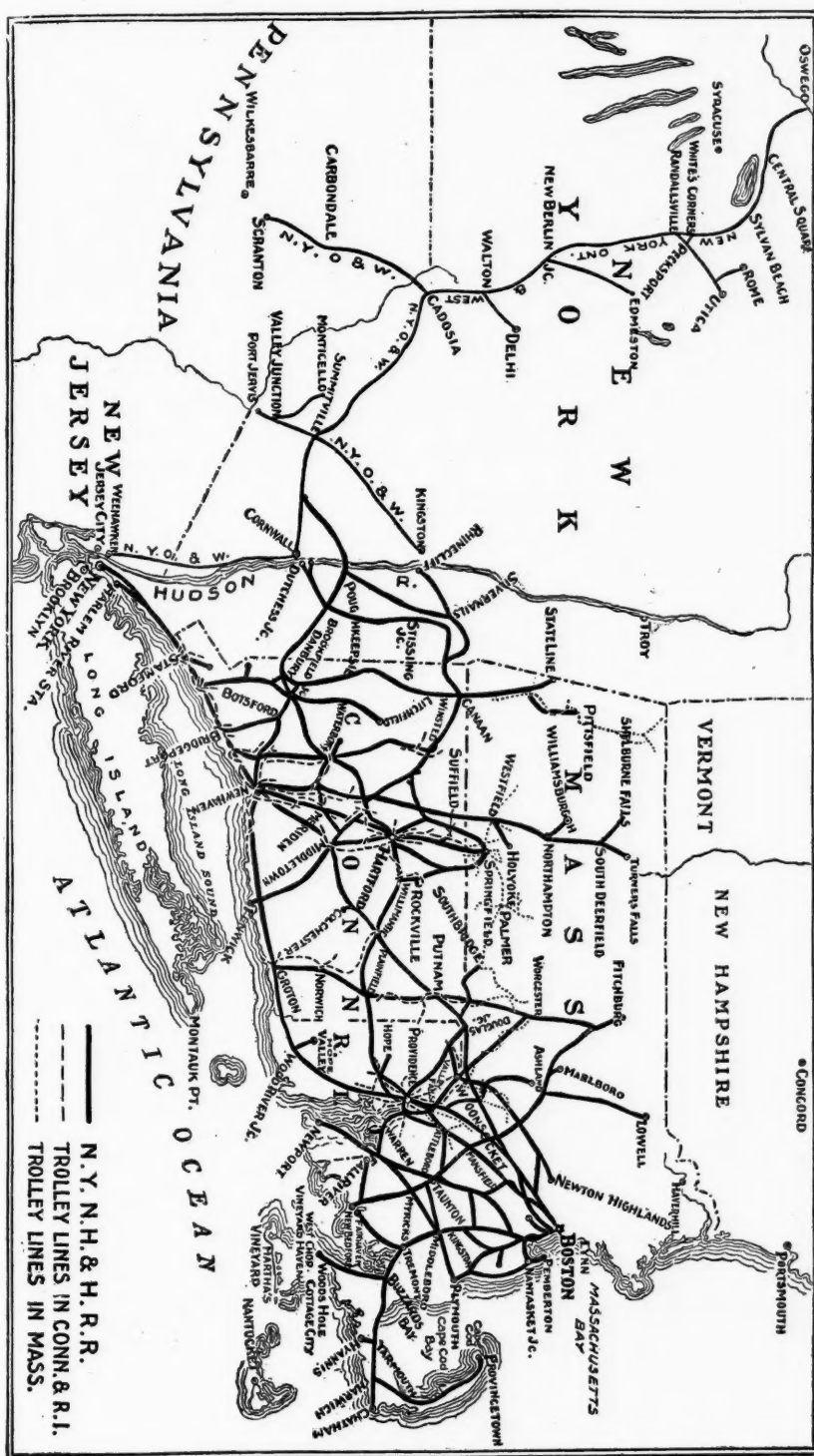
(3) To modernize the railroads of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and part of Massachusetts; to develop the traffic possibilities of this territory as the territory of the New Haven has been developed; to reduce passenger and freight rates in this territory as the passenger and freight rates of the New Haven have been reduced; and to give to all New England, as far as possible, a railroad service such as part of it now enjoys.

(4) To strengthen that it may endure after he has gone that position of equality and independence for the railroads of New England which has been created by his labor.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S FRIEND.

These are problems which Mr. Mellen can solve. He is performing a great public service which is needed. That is why he must win. Moreover he does not work in the dark. He indeed knows the meaning of corporate publicity. President Roosevelt in his message to Congress in December, 1904, quoted several hundred words from a speech of Mellen then recently made to his employees. "Words of sound common sense," said President Roosevelt. A few of the words so quoted were:

To my mind, the day has gone by when a corporation can be handled successfully in defiance of the public will, even though that will be unreasonable and wrong. A public may be led,



MAP OF THE NEW HAVEN SYSTEM AS ADMINISTERED BY PRESIDENT MELLEN.

but not driven, and I prefer to go with it and shape or modify, in a measure, its opinion, rather than be swept from my bearings with loss to myself and the interests in my charge.

Violent prejudice exists toward corporate activity and capital to-day, much of it founded in reason, more in apprehension, and a large measure is due to the personal traits of arbitrary, unreasonable, incompetent, and offensive men in positions of authority.

If corporations are to continue to do the world's work, as they are best fitted to, those qualities in their representatives that have resulted in the present prejudice against them must be relegated to the background. They must come out into the open and see and be seen. They must take the public into their confidence and ask for what they want, and no more, and be prepared to explain satisfactorily what advantage will accrue to the public if they are given their desires, for they are permitted to exist not that they may make money solely, but that they may effectively serve those from whom they derive their powers.

Publicity, and not secrecy, will win hereafter, and laws be construed by their intent and not by their letters, otherwise public utilities will be owned and operated by the public which created them.

Prophetic words these! And yet when they were uttered great financiers jeered them. To-day none is too great to do them reverence!

MELLEN THE MAN.

There is the Mellen of business and the Mellen of friendship and home. If you would meet the Mellen of business, go to him in his office. If a stranger, you will think perhaps that you have found the North Pole; the man himself will appear so dignified and cold. Yet this coldness is analogous to the gruffness of E. H. Harriman and the positive fierceness which is likely to meet the stranger ushered into the presence of J. P. Morgan. Like the gruffness and fierceness of these men, the coldness of Mellen is nothing but a thin veneer clinging around a wealth of sentiment that can be found only in great men.

But the Mellen of home and friendship,—you will find him an entirely different character. I am told that if you will go to Stockbridge, his summer home, you will stand a fair chance of finding him romping around the lawn in his shirt sleeves or kicking a football for the amusement of some of his five children. He is not a "society man" in the loose sense of that term, and as to his private character it has always been above reproach.

President Mellen of the New Haven road is not a man of wealth, but he is as surely the ruler of his railway empire as is the railroad magnate who rules by the proxies of himself and his little coterie of wealthy friends. And yet there is no doubt that by following certain codes of railway ethics he might have owned a railroad.

The New Haven and the Boston & Maine together have about 22,000 shareholders. The New Haven itself has nearly 15,000 shareholders and about 900,000 shares, or an average of sixty shares to each holder. There is no concentrated stock ownership in this property and it is ruled by no one or two or three financial groups. Yet with the regularity of clockwork the proxies go to the president's office with supreme confidence just as fast as voting time comes around.

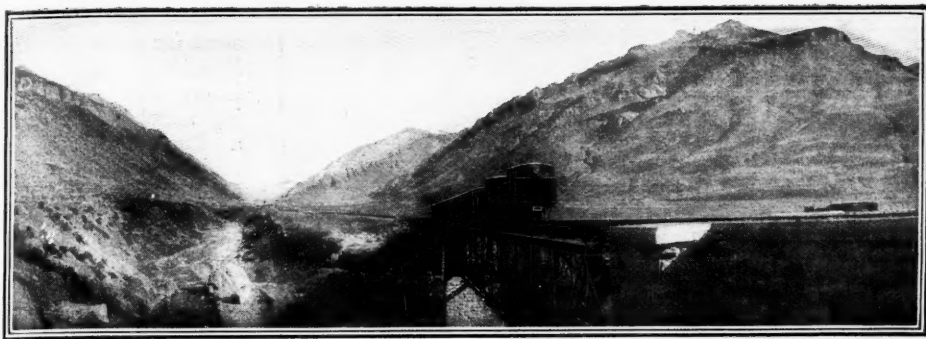
The *Wall Street Journal* recently said of Mellen:

His enemies say that he is a much over-rated man. His closest friends say that he is the foremost railroad man of his time. But a man cannot be judged by his enemies or his friends. The disinterested public will concede that he is a man of tremendous force and ability and ranks among the greatest railroad captains of the time.

The shining characteristics of this man who has achieved so much and achieved it so well are: Energy, aggressiveness, confidence and determination. It is a peculiar combination. It was inevitable that this combination should form the club of a conqueror. He has the determination which becomes more determined when it is crossed and the energy that is stimulated by ceaseless labor. He has the aggressiveness which works best under opposition and the confidence which has never known defeat.

Like that little coterie of men who early lighted the paths along which the development of our American transportation lines has proceeded,—James J. Hill, Collis P. Huntington, Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt, and Lord Strathcona,—the president of the New Haven has that personality which rules.

Mr. Mellen is, comparatively speaking, still a young man, being but fifty-six years of age. In the normal course of events he should be good for at least another decade of activity. It is that very decade in the lives of great railroad captains in which they have accomplished most.



A FREIGHT TRAIN PULLING UP THE VALLEY OF THE RIO MENDOZA, ARGENTINA.

RAILROADS AND RAILROAD BUILDING IN SOUTH AMERICA.

BY LEWIS R. FREEMAN.

ALTHOUGH to the North-American exponents of that project there has seemed a discouraging lack of interest in the Pan-American Railway scheme on the part of South-American railroad men, there has really been no cessation of the activity of the latter in pushing development in their more immediate spheres.

"Let us build the lines the country needs," they say; "and don't ask us to go out of our way to further a scheme which, however practicable from an engineering point of view, would not pay us dividends in this century, and, possibly, not in the next. We concede that we might benefit indirectly through the increased stability of government that would follow the building of an intercontinental line, but that benefit is too remote to interest us at a time when we have ample opportunity for expending all our available funds in the construction of lines that will yield returns from the day they are opened."

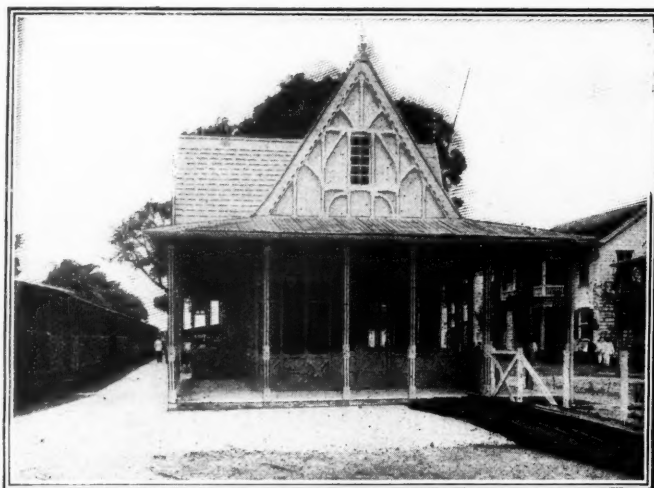
So it happens that, while there has never been so much activity in railway construction in South America as at the present moment, almost without exception the new lines are following the parallels rather than the meridians, running east and west rather than north and south. Thus, in central and southern Chile three lines are already being built, and another is projected, to cut the Cordillera of the Andes,—as yet uncrossed by rails,—and connect with an equal number of lines from Buenos Ayres and Bahia Blanca that are being rapidly extended westward across the great Argentine pampa.

In northern Chile and southern Peru two roads already completed into Bolivia, as well as one under construction, will become part of a transcontinental system when the Argentine Government line to Jujuy, now rapidly nearing the Bolivian town of Tupiza, is connected, 125 miles farther on, with the Chilean line from Antofagasta to La Paz.

In central Peru the wonderful American-built Oroya railroad, running from Callao and Lima across the first range of the Andes to the rich valley from which it takes its name, is being pushed on through the second range to the upper waters of the Rio Ucayli, the deep southern branch of the Amazon, while, in northern Peru, the road from the port of Pacasmayo through the mountains to Cajamarca is in process of extension to the Rio Marañon, the principal western tributary of the great Brazilian river.

In Ecuador, the road from the river port of Guayaquil to Quito, the capital, is nearing completion, and surveys have already been made in view of its projected extension to the navigable waters of the Japura, still another tributary of the Amazon. From the north Ecuadorian port of Manta a road is also projected to open up an extremely rich rubber, coffee, and cacao district in the near interior.

Colombia, most backward of all the South-American countries in the matter of railroads, is estimating on a plan by which the short line running back from her western port of Buenaventura may be carried on through the mountains to Bogotá, the consummation of which would make it possible to reach that



THE RAILROAD STATION AT PARAMARIBO, DUTCH GUIANA.

capital in a day or two by rail, instead of the fortnight, more or less, at present necessary by the Magdalena River route. The construction of such a line, while sure to be enormously expensive, is believed to be perfectly practicable.

The northeastern coast of the continent, partly for political and partly for commercial reasons, shows no sign of the activity in railway building so noticeable on the western coast. In Venezuela, the balance-sheets of the English line from La Guayra to Caracas shows a lesser volume of business for the year 1906 than was the average during the '80's of the past century, when the line was in sharp competition with the old pack-trains, while the German line, running westward from Caracas to Valencia, has had its hands too full keeping what road it has in repair from washouts and landslides, to consider the question of new trackage.

British Guiana is sharing the dullness of the rest of England's Caribbean possessions, and the Demerara Railroad, paralleling the

coast for some distance in either direction from Georgetown, sees nothing ahead to warrant a further outlay of capital. In Dutch Guiana, a short freight line building back from Surinam is practically at a standstill for lack of funds, and in French Guiana the scattered mining camps of the interior are amply served by the river boats.

Very little, indeed scarcely any, railway work is being done in the tropical part of Brazil, north of the Amazon. At Manaus, a thousand miles up that river from its mouth, an American contractor, who was prominent in building Sir William Van Horne's Cuban railroad, has just landed the first of his construction gangs to commence work on a short line to serve this most important of the world's rubber districts. Some work is also being done on branches and extensions to the antiquated roads out of Pernambuco and Bahia, and on the principal line of the country from Rio de Janeiro to São Paulo. Both of these latter cities, how-

STATION OF THE SÃO PAULO RAILROAD AT SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL.
(The finest station on the continent, beautifully situated, facing a park.)



A BRAZILIAN RAILROAD YARD ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF RIO DE JANEIRO.

ever, have suffered heavily from the low price of coffee, and there is little money available for any class of development.

In temperate Brazil, in the rich and prosperous states of Santa Catherina and Rio Grande do Sul, it is probable that the requirements of the large and industrious German population will necessitate a steady extension of the several lines now building. It is one of these lines that will form the eastern section of what will be, for the present century at least, the most northern of the South-American transcontinental railroads.

According to the present plans, a road starting either from Santos, the great coffee-shipping port, or Paranagua, on the bay of that name, will be run across the southern Panhandle of Brazil into Paraguay, connecting at Villa Rica with the line to Asuncion. From here the road will be run along the low flats of the Rio Pilcomayo to the Bolivian town of Tarija, a distance of 500 miles, in almost a straight line. From Tarija one branch will run west to connect with the Argentine line at Tupiza, while another will wind northwest across the tablelands to La Paz. This line will be of great benefit to Bolivia in giving her an outlet to the Atlantic.

In spite of unsettled political conditions in Uruguay, railroad work is going on in every quarter of that marvelously fertile little country, most of the roads, old and new, being owned or controlled by the ably managed Central Uruguay. Lines are in operation to Colonia, opposite Buenos Ayres on

the Plate; to the Rio Uruguay, on the Argentine or western boundary; to and across the northern boundary into Brazil; and to points on the Atlantic coast. Most of the new construction is taking the form of feeders to these main lines.

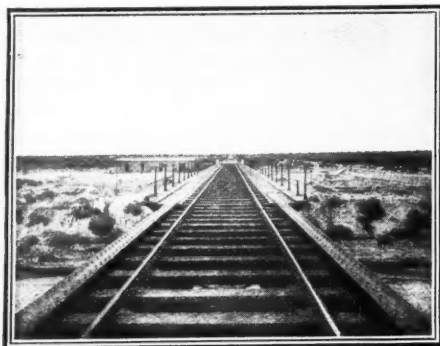
ARGENTINA'S UP-TO-DATE TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM.

To outline any but the most salient features of recent construction in Argentina would be impossible in this brief article. The total capitalization of the railroads of that country foots up to nearly \$750,000,000. There are something like 15,000 miles of line in operation, over which were carried, in the year 1906, 30,000,000 tons of freight, and about the same number of passengers, the gross receipts amounting to almost \$75,000,000. There are about twenty-five separate companies, mostly English, and no one of them but is extending its lines as fast as its capital will permit. The whole of the great pampa,—the Mississippi Valley of South America,—is fairly gridironed with the rails that have been laid across it in an effort to make the transportation facilities keep pace with increasing production, while the beginning of new extensions, toward the northern and western frontiers, as well as the lengthening of old ones, goes on steadily year by year.

Argentina is the only country in South America where the railroad, as in the United States, has assumed a definite character, and where also, as here, the best brains of the

country are employed in its management. The Argentine railway in all its appointments, and the Argentine railway man in all his characteristics, stand about midway between those of England and America. Some American rails have been laid in Argentina, and a small amount of ancient American rolling stock is occasionally to be seen, but nothing new of any description. This is partly due to the fact that the buyers are British and that freights from England are more favorable than from the United States, and partly to the fact that the efforts to introduce our goods have been very spasmodic at the best. The bulk of Argentine rolling stock is of American pattern and English manufacture. Several of the roads have had orders waiting for Pullmans for some time, but as yet, though a number of these cars are in use in Chile, none is to be seen east of the Andes. Practically all of the passenger-car seats, however, both in Argentina and the other South-American countries, are from the States.

The Argentine railway man is a good deal more American in his theory than in his practice. This is because everything he does has to be passed on by a ponderous, slow-moving London board, many of whose members, together with their ideas on railroading, are likely to date back pretty well into the first half of the last century. If there is one thing that it is not permitted to mention to an Argentine railway official out of business hours it is the "London Board." The latter, however, answers admirably the purpose of a "balance-wheel," and there is little doubt that the existence of similar institutions in America would have done yeoman service in checking the flights some of our own roads have gone on.



ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIVE MILES OF
STRAIGHT TRACK ON THE ARGENTINA PAMPA.

With the exception of Señor Villalonga, the able president of the Great Western, who is an Argentiño, all of the prominent railway men,—F. C. Barrows and T. C. Gregory of the Southern, C. W. Bayne and F. L. Hudson of the Central Uruguay, Messrs. Goodge and Simpson, respectively of the Buenos Ayres & Pacific and the Ferrocarril Oeste, and many others,—though English born, learned all of their railroading in South America. They are extremely hard workers as a class, but readily accessible at all hours. There is little of the "insularity" so characteristic of the English railway man at home about them, and they all evince particular interest in matters pertaining to American railway progress, upon which they keep remarkably well informed. An impression that one cannot help carrying away from a talk on railway affairs with any one of them is that, if the London boards would relax a bit, and the manufacturers in the United States meet them half way, they would like to make Argentine roads a good deal more American than they are at present.

In addition to all the important officials in every department, most of the clerical staffs of the Argentine roads are also English; outside of these, however, practically all employees of all classes,—station-agents, telegraphers, machinists, conductors, brakemen, firemen, engineers, and all unskilled hands,—are either natives of the country or Italian. There are still a few English firemen and drivers employed, but no more are being brought out, and, eventually,—when the present British incumbents have been promoted or discharged,—all hands on the locomotives will be Latins.

Strange as it may seem, in spite of the fact that there are more native than British engineers employed, the records show that there have been fewer accidents to trains driven by the former than the latter. The fact that the men brought out from England have proved rather less sober and reliable than at home may have something to do with this showing, but the principal reason advanced is the real superiority of the Argentines at that class of work. During six months spent in Argentina, covering all of a harvest season, in which every kind of car and engine in the land was in commission to help handle a record-breaking harvest, I do not recall hearing of a single train-wreck that was attended with fatalities. This fact, in the light of the figures I have quoted regarding the very con-



TO MARK ETERNAL PEACE BETWEEN CHILE AND ARGENTINA.

(The statue of Christ at the summit of the Uspallata Pass, erected to commemorate the settlement of the boundary dispute between Chile and Argentina.)

siderable amount of business handled by the Argentine roads, may furnish Americans with food for reflection on railway operation and management during the existing "Reign of Terror" here at home.

In the matter of track, the average of Argentina will class considerably ahead of that of the United States. Where we have been using soft ties of pine and redwood for many years, that country has used *colorado quebracho* and other varieties of practically indestructible Paraguayan hard-wood. Much of the track of many lines, notably that of the Buenos Ayres & Pacific, is laid on sleepers of steel. Stone-ballasted "permanent-construction" is also met with much oftener there than here.

In the matter of stations, there is in the United States no road running through a country of less than ten times the density of population of the province of Buenos Ayres that has buildings to compare with the handsome stone structures to be found at towns along the 3000 miles of line of the Great Southern.

Of interest at the present moment is the completion of a northeastern Argentine line to the city of Corrientes, situated on the Upper Parana, opposite to a point on that river reached by the line from Asuncion, thus giving Paraguay railway communication with Buenos Ayres and Montevideo. The Argentine Government's line to Bolivia has already been alluded to, and the transcontinental projects affecting that country will be taken up in a moment.

THE STATE-OWNED ROADS OF CHILE.

The railroads of Chile are second in value, business and general importance only to those of Argentina. Except for a number of short lines, mostly in the northern nitrate provinces, the roads of the country are owned and operated by the state. These government lines, while by no means as ably managed as the big roads of Argentina, still handle an enormous amount of business and pay handsome dividends.

The main line of the Chilean railway runs from Valparaiso to Santiago, and on south to

Concepcion and Valdivia, both of these last mentioned ports being on branches of the "backbone" road. The present terminus of the latter is at Osorno, but grading is already completed to Puerto Montt, at the head of the Gulf of Ancud, and trains will be running to that point by the end of the year.

North of Valparaiso the government line in the province of Coquimbo has been pushed south until it is almost ready to connect with the main line in the Aconcagua Valley, which will make between 800 and 900 miles of unbroken road running through the most fertile portion of the country. It is the ultimate ambition of the Chilean Government to complete a line from the Straits of Magellan to the Peruvian boundary, a plan, however, which for many reasons is not likely to be carried out much before the completion of the great Pan-American Railroad itself.

The signing last year by Bolivia of a treaty with Chile permitting the latter to construct a railway from her port of Arica to La Paz was a practical relinquishment on the part of that country to the territory wrested from her by Chile in their war of some decades back. The negotiating of the treaty was looked upon as a distinct diplomatic triumph for Chile, and hardly was the ink dry upon the paper before her surveyors,—closely followed by graders,—were at work upon the route of the projected line. Construction has been pushed since August, 1905, and, though the undertaking is too big a one to be completed in a short time, it is

not likely that the work will be allowed to languish as it has on some of the government's railway contracts in the south.

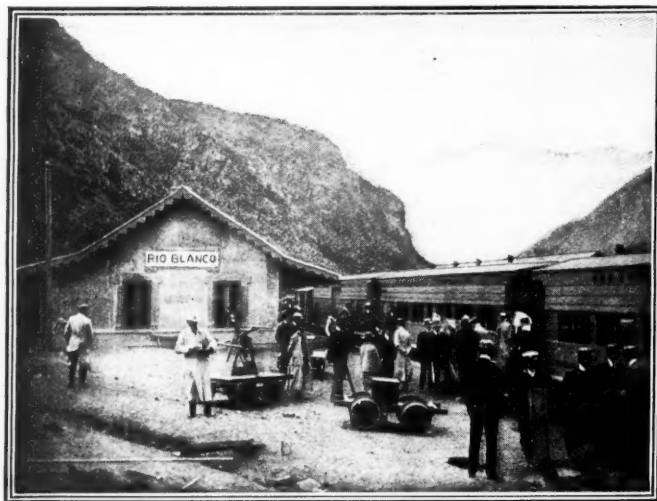
THE ARGENTINE-CHILEAN TRANSCONTINENTAL LINE.

Of all these railways that have been referred to as either in construction or projected, the one exciting by far the most interest at present is the transcontinental line which is to connect Chile and Argentina by way of the historic Uspallata Pass. The most important fact in regard to this road, which it is hoped will be put in operation during the coming year, is that it will be the shortest and quickest route for all time between the two most progressive centers of population in South America, Buenos Ayres-Rosario and Santiago-Valparaiso. As the first South-American transcontinental route to be completed, its opening will have a significance akin to that which attached to driving the "Golden Spike" on our own Union Pacific, away back in the '80's.

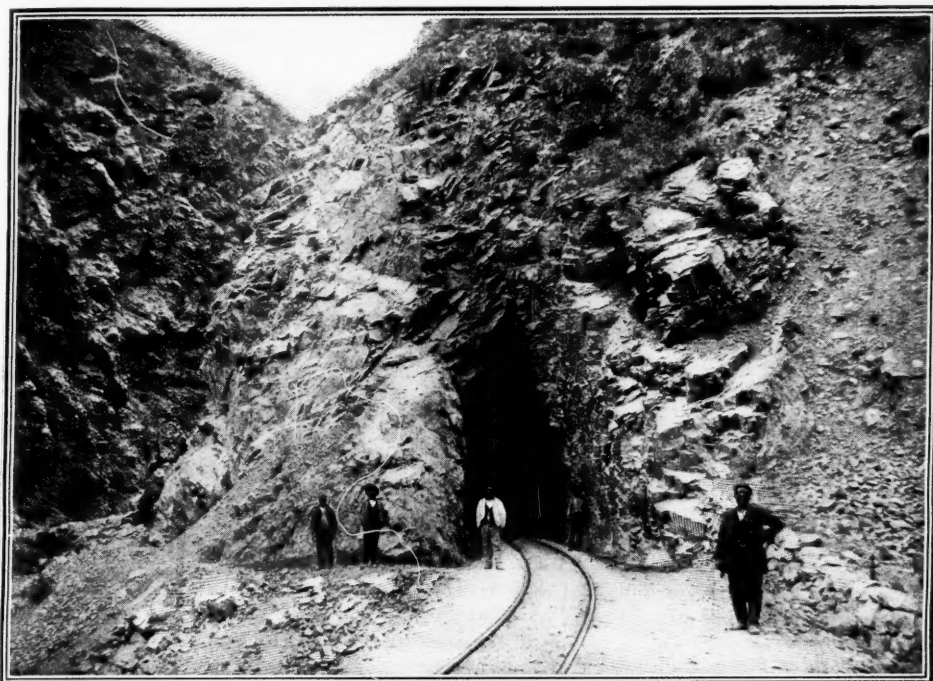
The "ham-bone" of South America, at the thirty-fourth parallel, which this line roughly follows, has a width of about 800 miles, and so direct is the route that the laying of very little over that length of rails will be necessary. The first portion of the Argentine section of the road, the Buenos Ayres and Pacific line, has the longest perfectly straight stretch of track in the world, —175 miles without a curve,—and all the way across the pampa "straights" of twenty and thirty miles are encountered almost as often as are tunnels in the Andean sections.

SURMOUNTING THE ANDES.

The broad-gauge line from Buenos Ayres to Mendoza, at the foot of the Andes in Argentina, and that from Valparaiso to Los Andes in Chile, are among the pioneer roads in their respective countries, and even the Andean section on the Argentine side has been finished for a number of years. The principal obstacles to a speedy completion of the



RIO BLANCO, A POINT ON THE CHILEAN TRANSANDEAN RAILROAD.



ENTRANCE TO ONE OF THE MANY SHORT TUNNELS ON THE LAST SECTION OF THE CHILEAN TRANSANDEAN RAILROAD.

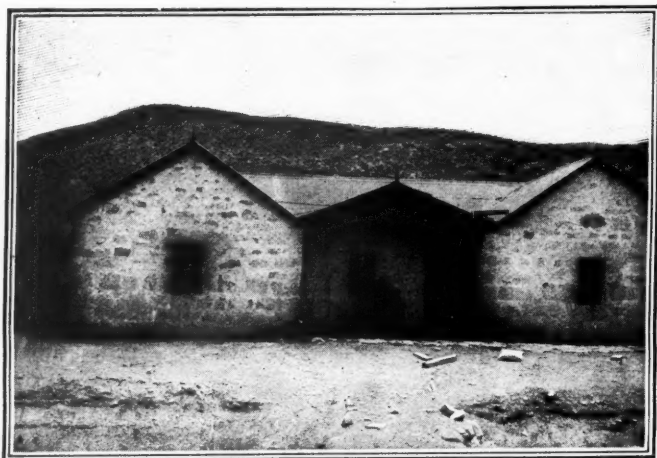
line have been the refractory granite encountered in the great two-mile tunnel at the summit,—the longest railroad tunnel ever constructed at so great an altitude,—the enormous amount of rock-work necessary at exposed points in the last ten miles of the Chilean section, and the great difficulty of getting men to work during the winter months. Now that the grading is complete on the Chilean side, less trouble will be experienced in the matter of laborers, as men in the tunnels are safe from snow-slides, the terror of those who have had to work in the open.

The Argentine transandean section, which follows the Mendoza River from the city of that name to the tunnel station of Las Cuevas, climbs from 2000 to 10,500 feet in a distance of seventy miles; on the Chilean side, from Los Andes to Portillo along the Aconcagua River, about the same elevation is attained in forty-three miles. On either side the highest grade for adhesion is a little over $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., beyond which, up to 8 per cent., recourse is had to the rack system.

The last section of the Chilean transandean line has been one of the most arduous

pieces of railway construction ever attempted. This has been not so much on account of the actual engineering difficulties of simply building a railroad over the route selected, but rather in building a railroad that will survive. The annual snow-fall at the Uspallata Pass is something stupendous, and when this, after piling up for six months in the winter, begins to melt and slide in the spring, the Andes themselves are racked to their very foundations from the titanic forces then turned loose.

The present coach-road from the summit to Juncal is a smooth driveway cut out of the solid rock at a gradient of from 5 to 10 per cent. At the turns it is banked like a racetrack to keep the flying coaches from going off at a tangent, and along all precipices is a stone wall three feet high and two feet thick. This is the road as it is each November after the Chilean Government, at an annual expense of \$60,000, has put it in shape for the summer's travel. After serving its purpose for six months, and lying for four months more buried under from five to thirty feet of snow, this whole costly piece of construction is so completely scoured off the face



ONE OF THE HIGHEST RAILROAD STATIONS IN THE WORLD.

(Crucero Alto, 14,500 feet above sea level, on the Southern Railroad of Peru. Travelers from Mollendo to La Paz usually suffer from "soroche," the mountain sickness, at this point.)

of the mountains by the spring slides that its restoration involves not only a regrading, but also, through nearly its entire length, a resurveying.

Under conditions like these ordinary snowsheds, such as our northwestern roads are provided with, would be of about as much protection as a row of shade trees. In all exposed places, therefore, whether the exigencies of grade required it or not, the roadway has been excavated out of the solid rock. From Juncal to Portillo is about eleven miles, but in this distance there occur thirteen tunnels, some of them running over a quarter of a mile in length. There are many who claim that even such radical measures as these will not be sufficient, but the constructing company, the American firm of W. R. Grace, expresses itself as confident of not only preserving the line intact during the spring slides, but also of keeping it open for traffic throughout the winter.

Up to this time the summer tunnel gangs have been able to average about a yard a day at each end, progress that seems unaccountably slow to an American contractor who has never attempted construction under similar conditions. It may be pointed out, however, that steam loses a good deal of its expansive power, and that air needs considerably more compressing, at 10,500 feet, than at lower levels; also, that, until very recently, fuel, machinery and everything else used on the Chilean side had to be brought up on mule-back during the summer months, and that

the hands employed in running the drills are native Chileans, men who, as a class, do not take readily to new machinery. Under the circumstances a very creditable amount of work has been done, but the contractors have probably lost a good deal of time by not employing a dozen experienced American drillmen from some of our Western mines.

At present this transcontinental journey,—one of the grandest scenic trips in the world,—can be made only during the summer months,

Uspallata Pass being crossed at an elevation of 13,000 feet by swift four-horse coaches, or on mule-back. In this way one may go from Buenos Ayres to Valparaiso in from forty to sixty hours, according to the weather at the summit. When the tunnel is completed this time will be reduced to thirty hours and a daily schedule maintained the year round. The time by steamer between these cities is fourteen days, with a boat sailing once a fortnight. The advantage to Chilean-Argentine traffic is one of the smallest items of benefit to be derived from the opening of this line, for it will also mean a saving of twelve days in both directions for all passengers and mail between Peru, Bolivia, and Chile and Europe.

As a carrier of heavy freight this Uspallata road is not expected to do a big business, principally because the high price of coal in that part of the country, as well as the heavy grades over which trains must be hauled, will necessitate rates practically prohibitive for all but baggage and light stuff of the express class. For the very considerable amount of business to be done in carrying cattle and foodstuffs from Argentina to Chile the road now building through the remarkable pass of San Martin, at about the fortieth parallel, will make a strong bid.

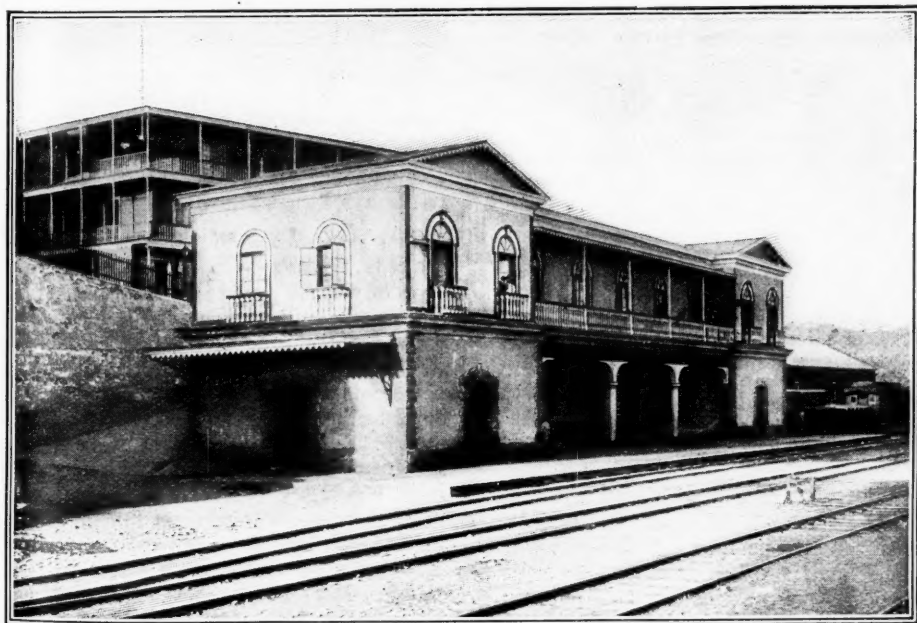
The existence of a very low pass, formed by the cutting through the Andes of the chain of lakes from which the Valdivia River receives its water, has been known of for some time, but it was only last year that a careful

survey established the fact that a broad-gauge railroad could be built from Chile, right through the mountains and out onto the Argentine pampa, without the construction of a single tunnel and at no point attaining an elevation of more than 2500 feet. The construction of such a road was shortly after entered upon by a strong Franco-Chilean company, after the latter had been assured that a leading Argentine line was ready to come on and join rails with it at the international boundary. Trains have been running for some time over the first sections of both extensions.

The difference in meteorological conditions,—incident to the difference of elevation,—of these two great passes is remarkable. In April of last year,—early autumn south of the equator,—I rode across the Uspallata summit over a trail trodden down into three feet of snow by a huge herd of cattle that had been driven through to break out the way. The thermometer stood at fifteen degrees above zero, and the following day an additional fall of snow closed up the pass for its six months of winter sleep. Ten weeks later, in July,—midwinter,—I passed twice over the San Martin route, and on neither occasion encountered enough snow to come above my horse's fetlocks.

No one of the lakes that are responsible for the existence of the San Martin Pass has ever been frozen over, and their depth is such that steamers of considerable draught may be laid against their banks at almost any point. Moreover, navigation between the two upper lakes, Lacar and Perihueico, is about to be opened up through the construction of a lock on the connecting river, and it is probable that the two lower lakes will also be similarly united. Small steamers now plying on all four lakes are proving of the greatest assistance in furthering the railway construction work. Unbroken navigation of the whole chain will be impossible because of the 1200-foot drop from Lake Perihueico to Panguipulli, a disadvantage that is more than compensated for, however, by the existence of a magnificent waterfall of height and volume sufficient to furnish power to operate the railroad for a hundred miles in either direction.

This new road, independent of its undeniable future as a commercial highway, running as it will for a hundred miles along a chain of lakes, walled in by perpetually snow-capped mountains that in places tower almost sheer for 10,000 and 12,000 feet, is destined to open up a land of natural wonders fully entitled to take rank with anything of the kind now known to man.



A TYPICAL PERUVIAN RAILROAD STATION.

(Mollendo, at sea level, near one terminus of the Southern Railroad of Peru.)

THE FARMER'S DEBT TO SCIENCE.

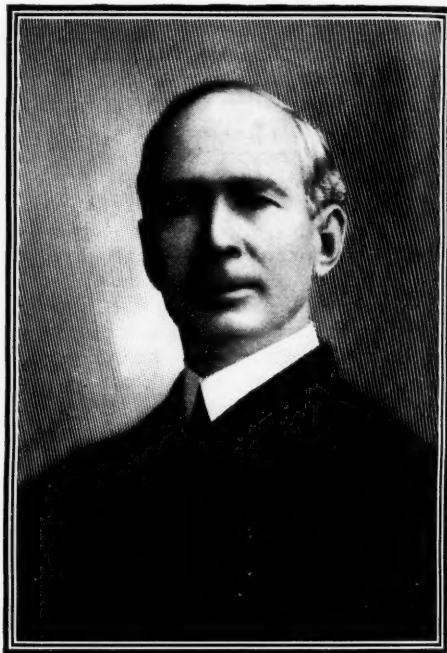
BY FRANK W. BICKNELL.

TO farm with the head; to realize that no farmer can succeed by mere brute strength, and that drudgery is labor without thought,—these are the ideas that have become firmly lodged in the heads of the farmers of Iowa. Many thousands of them gratefully acknowledge their debt to Professors Curtiss, Holden, Craig, and Kennedy and their associates, for helping them to a better understanding of the difference between success and failure in the farm business.

Iowa, with half of her population of 2,250,000 directly engaged in agriculture, and the rest mostly dependent upon it, has led the world in originating effective methods for carrying the message of the new agriculture directly to the farms and for making good the prediction of the Secretary of Agriculture, himself an Iowan, that there will be no more serious crop failures. In four notable ways, started in this State, have the most advanced and practical scientific methods of farming and stock-raising secured immediate and general adoption by practical farmers of long and varied experience. These four great movements came in this order:

(1) The "short course" in stock-judging, started at the State Agricultural College at Ames in 1899, and now developed into other lines and adopted by other States. (2) The local agricultural experiment stations on the county poor-farms, begun in 1903 and "destined to go around the world." (3) The seed-corn special trains, started in 1904, which in three seasons covered 11,000 miles of railway and brought audiences of farmers aggregating 150,000 to learn the importance of a better selection of seed-corn, care in testing before planting, and other facts that have increased the average yield of the State by one-third in three years. (4) The Department of Agricultural Extension in the State Agricultural College, started in 1906, liberally supported by the State, giving practical aid to every seeker for information concerning animal husbandry, farm crops, soils, dairying, horticulture, and domestic science.

Thirty years ago, with land worth \$8 to \$20 an acre, a farmer could not afford to be as careful as he must be to-day, when the same land is worth from \$75 to \$150 per acre. There must be better farming in the Middle West. Those who want cheap lands to quickly skim off the cream of fertility must go west and northwest.



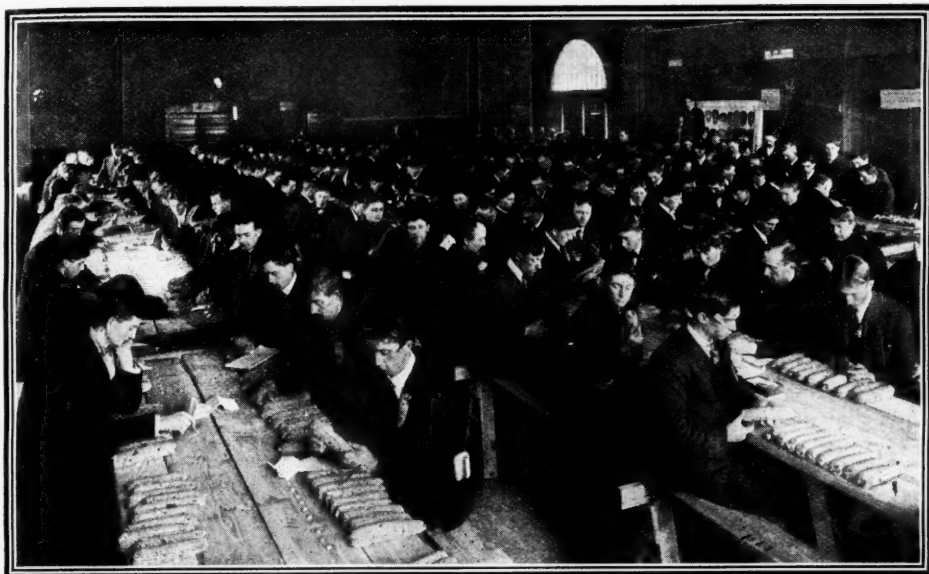
DEAN CHARLES F. CURTISS.

(Director of the Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station, head of the agricultural division of the Agricultural College, and originator of the "short courses" for farmers.)

THE FIRST "SHORT COURSES" IN AMERICA.

Ten years ago Prof. Charles F. Curtiss, succeeding James Wilson, now Secretary of Agriculture, as dean of the Division of Agriculture in the Iowa State College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts, saw that his greatest problem was to get closer to experienced farmers. Only a few hundred could be regularly graduated from the college each year, and most of these were eagerly sought by corporations, to manage creameries, big farms, etc., and as teachers. To show the greatest number of farmers how to make better use of their opportunities Professor Curtiss took the first step of those rapidly succeeding movements that have given Iowa leadership in agricultural education.

The first of the famous "short courses"



ONE SECTION OF THE CORN-JUDGING CLASS AT THE IOWA AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE "SHORT COURSE."

was announced at the college in Ames for the first two weeks in January, 1899. It was open to all the world, without restrictions as to age or qualifications, with very low tuition. About 250 men, many of them successful stock-breeders, not only from Iowa, but from many other States, came to this novel school, the first of its kind in the United States. Prof. John A. Craig, then professor of animal husbandry, was in immediate charge, and he is entitled to rank as the pioneer in putting live-stock teaching in good pedagogic form.

The work of the "short course" has been extended, until now it includes corn and grain judging, dairying, horticulture, and domestic science. The attendance reaches about 800 and includes many who have spent their lives in successful agriculture. Quite a number bring their wives for the domestic-science course, which is also intensely practical. Every section of the country, from Canada to Texas, from Pennsylvania to the Pacific Coast, sent students last January.

Henry Ebert, a prosperous farmer-banker from Red Oak, in the southwestern part of the State, convinced his neighbors and the business men in the town that they ought to have a "short course" in Red Oak. Many of them had also attended the Ames "short course," and wanted their neighbors to have its benefits. Inquiry at the college assured

them that instead of discouraging what its promoters feared might be considered a rival school, Dean Curtiss, Professor Holden and their associates were eager to help it, and volunteered to furnish the faculty. The business men of Red Oak co-operated, and a guarantee fund of \$3000 in \$25 subscriptions was pledged for the expenses, which included \$800 for prizes for the best corn. Ten or twelve members of the Ames faculty and as many advanced students acted as lecturers and instructors, for which they charged only their actual expenses. Other lecturers were employed and some local speakers called in. The school opened Monday morning and ran six full days. The first year, 1905, the attendance was 240, the second year 334, and the third year, in spite of a stormy week in January, 420. The corn exhibited becomes the property of the association and is sold at auction. The growth of interest is shown in the amount of each year's sales, beginning at \$127, going to \$350 the second year, and to \$571 this year. A single bushel brought \$39, one fifty-ear lot sold for \$34.25, two ten-ear lots for \$10 each, a single ear for \$2.25, etc. The departments of this school were: Corn, animal husbandry, and domestic science. The fee for the latter was \$1 and for all the other work \$2. Every one enrolled was entitled to compete for any of the corn prizes. With the lectures in the evening and the regular

course work of the day classes, nearly every phase of farm life was touched upon with enlightenment. The school has always paid expenses, without calling on the guarantors.

Mr. Ebert says that methods of farming, especially in corn-raising, have greatly improved in the vicinity since the "short courses" began. Judge Horace E. Deemer, of the Supreme Court of Iowa, a resident of Red Oak and one of the active organizers of the "short course," writes: "Good judges tell me that the yield of corn has increased at least five bushels per acre as a result of this corn school. The results educationally have been very great. The farmer down here,—and better than that, the farmer's boy,—has concluded that his business is as honorable and worthy as any other, and that it takes just as much brains to be a good farmer as to excel in anything else. The result will be and has been to keep the boy on the farm. He holds his head as high as any one; and down here we no longer speak of 'hayseeds.'"

Last December a similar school was started in Mount Pleasant, in the southeastern part of the State, at the urgent request of many farmers in that vicinity, who found it paid them to attend the "short courses" at the college. The movement there was headed by State Senator W. B. Seeley, whose brother died a few years ago and bequeathed to the city and the farmers of the locality an \$80,000 Y. M. C. A. building, designed especial-



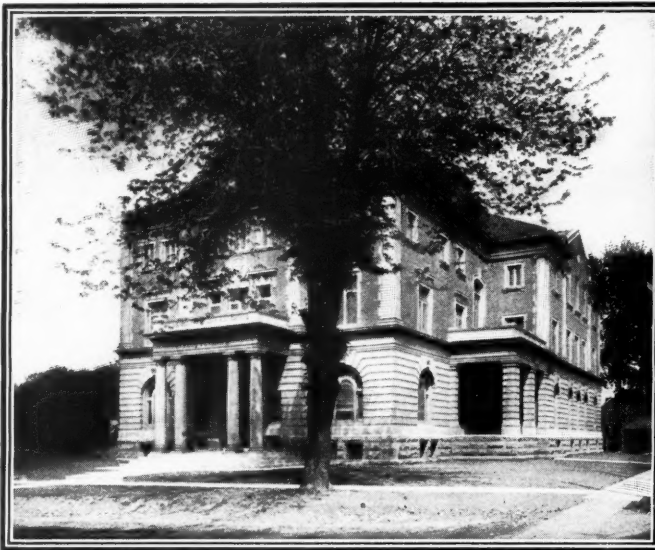
PROFESSOR P. G. HOLDEN.

(Originator of the "seed-corn special trains," superintendent of the extension department, and a recognized source of inspiration to the Iowa farmer.)

ly for the use and benefit of the farmers' sons. "My brother," said Senator Seeley, "was himself a farmer, and desired to help the young men of his kind." The building

was planned for educational work, and has a successful manual training department. So here we have probably the first farmers' Y. M. C. A. building in the world. With its fine lecture rooms and excellent equipment it furnished an ideal home for the short course. As with the southwestern school, the enthusiasm of the farmers and their sons and wives and daughters was all that could be desired, and the attendance of 357 will be greatly increased next year.

Two other "short-course" schools of three days each were held during the win-

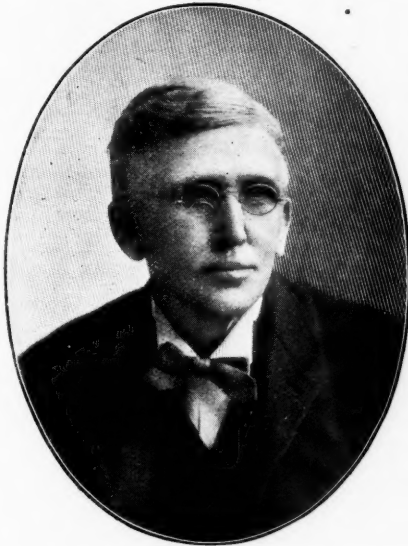


THE FARMERS' Y. M. C. A. BUILDING, MOUNT PLEASANT, IOWA.

ter and one domestic-science course of a week.

AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION IN IOWA.

During the year 1905 the agronomy department of the Agricultural College, of which Prof. P. G. Holden was the head, received over 37,000 letters asking for lectures, information, or help of some kind. To satisfy this desire for information the Legislature established the Department of Agricultural Extension at the college. The department is a part of the division under Dean Curtiss



"UNCLE ASA" TURNER.

(President of the Iowa Corn-Growers' Association.)

and Professor Holden is superintendent. More than 1600 requests for lecturers at farmers' institutes, picnics, county fairs, agricultural clubs, "short courses," schools, etc., came to the department during its first year, but only about one-fourth of them could be satisfied. More than twenty-five "short courses" have been asked for this year. The first year's appropriation of \$15,000 has been increased to \$27,000, and this year more lectures will be given, and a well-sustained six-day "short course" will be given in each quarter of the State, and as many more as possible. The correspondence of the department is enormous.

THE COUNTY EXPERIMENT STATIONS.

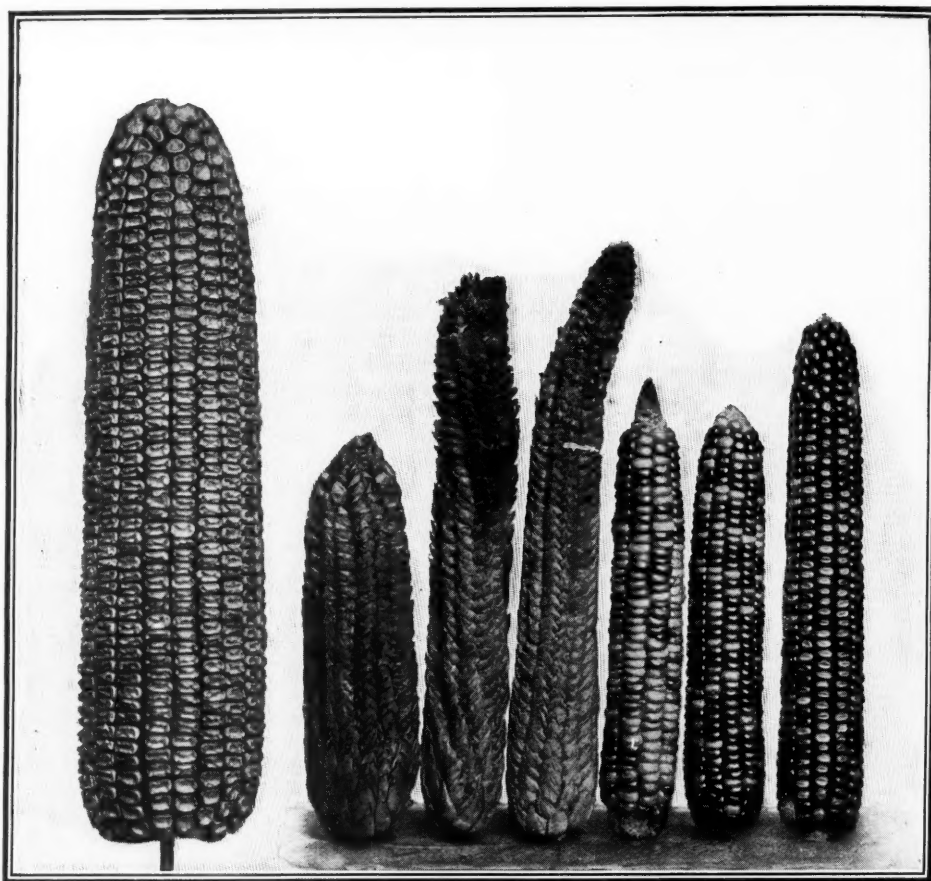
One of the most effective agencies in carrying the message of the better agriculture

out to the farms is the local experiment station on the county poor farm, also an Iowa idea. The first one was established in Sioux County, in the remote northwestern part of the State, in 1903. The County Board of Supervisors appropriated \$300 and the work, chiefly experiments in corn-growing, was carried out under the direction of Professor Holden's department at the college, which supervises all the county stations. In the fall a farmers' picnic was held on the farm to discuss results, and more than 3000 persons attended. The seed used is taken from the planter boxes of as many farmers in the vicinity as possible, is planted without testing, and given the same treatment as that bestowed upon the ordinary fields in the neighborhood. Each man's corn is planted in an identified plat. Each farmer whose seed has been used comes in the fall to the picnic to see how his compares with his neighbor's corn. More convincing proof could not be offered. The man who has given no heed to his seed and sees a miserable stand of inferior stalks, and more inferior ears, concludes as he gazes with envying wonder on the large, strong, uniform, well-eared plants of his seed-testing neighbor, that he will not be caught that way again. Very likely he begins to see in this some explanation of his neighbor's better home, freedom from debt, and general prosperity. A dozen or more counties scattered over the State have followed the plan started in Sioux County, and more will do so this year. The influence of these county experiment stations has been immediately noticeable, not only on the corn crop, but in raising the standard of farming in every way. Professor Holden and at least one of his assistants attend each of the county picnics, and they never fail to inspire their eager audience with the belief that every one can do better than he is doing if he only will.

GOING TO COLLEGE AT SIXTY.

Some such hard-headed old farmer as "Uncle Asa" Turner is likely to be on hand at the picnic to back up the professor and tell his fellow-farmers, as I heard him tell them, that they are never too old to learn, if they will come with young hearts. He explained to them how, though he had raised horses all his life, he did not know "the p'int of a good horse."

"Wife, I am going to college," was the conclusion his astonished helpmate heard one evening as he was looking over one of the



THE IDEAL EAR OF CORN.

(Winner of the Iowa grand championship.)

TYPES OF PRIMITIVE CORN.

(Contrast these with the ideal corn, the result of breeding.)

Ames' "short-course" announcements. "Why, the boys 'll haze you up there!" she exclaimed. But he said he guessed he'd get along with the boys, and off he went. "And thanks to Professors Curtiss, Kennedy and Craig," he now proudly asserts, "I know the p'int of a good horse." The next year he went back and heard about "the corn crank from Illinois," Prof. P. G. Holden, who had just joined the college faculty and was talking about corn. "Uncle Asa" wanted to know if this man could talk ten minutes about corn without running out. Curiosity led him to investigate, and he was still further surprised to find how much he did not know and could learn from "the dapper little professor." He was coaxed into the class of 500 studying corn and became very enthusiastic. In a year or two he won the grand

championship prize for the best corn. Now he is president of the State Corn-Growers' Association and is fond of going about to farmers' meetings, telling how well it paid him to "go to college at sixty." He has given up the idea of "retiring" and moving into town, has built a fine modern home on his valuable farm, and says that is plenty good enough for him. "I no longer see things in the same light," he declares. "Life on the farm is full and interesting every day. It is no longer a dreary round of following the furrows."

The short of it is that from being mere machines the farmers have been admitted to the wonderful fairyland of science. They know how and why things are done, so it is more interesting to cause things to grow, and to cause them to grow right. This renewal

of interest has been the means of keeping old people on their farms, where they are at home and happy, instead of moving into the nearest little town, where they are likely to be unhappy and a nuisance to their neighbors, opposing public improvements, unable to adjust themselves to the changes, and least of all to idleness and separation from the duties of a lifetime of activity.

Asa Turner's experience is a fair sample of thousands of men in Iowa who with grateful enthusiasm acknowledge what the ambitious yet conservative group of scientists at Ames has done for them. At first the professors were ridiculed as mere theorists,—“book farmers, who would starve to death on a quarter-section of land.” But when their stock began to win the prizes away from the scoffers, and their feeding experiments were producing such satisfactory results in dollars, with equally forcible practical results in crop-raising and in the development of new and valuable crops, the farmers quit laughing and went to studying to find out how it was done. They learned that no guesswork was permitted at Ames, and that when a result was announced it could be relied upon.

THE SEED-CORN SPECIAL TRAINS.

The most widely known feature of this work that has given Iowa her leadership in

the rapid dissemination and quick and effective application of improved methods in agriculture was the seed-corn special trains, started in 1904 by Professor Holden, with the co-operation of the railways of the State. During the spring seasons of 1904, 1905, and 1906 these educational trains traveled over 11,000 miles, made 789 stops, and more than 150,000 people heard 1265 lectures, sometimes in a large passenger car, carried for the purpose, sometimes on the station platform, and occasionally in a hall. The trains were run on regular schedules and good audiences were always waiting.

“There are just as many quarter-sections around a small town as around a large one,” said Professor Holden, “so we stopped at every station where they took interest enough to advertise the meeting. We wanted the farmers from those quarter-sections and their sons. The way to get close to the farmer is to go to his little town and make him most informally at home with his neighbors, without any ‘dress-up.’ We took away the terrors of science by showing how simple are her laws, so easily understood by all, but which no one may violate without paying the penalty. We showed how many farmers, who didn't test their seed, were wasting one-third of their time and one-third of their land, planting seed that did not grow, leaving vacant places that cost just as much to culti-



INSPECTING CORN AT A COUNTY PICNIC IN IOWA.



A GATHERING AT THE MONTGOMERY COUNTY, IOWA, FARMERS' PICNIC.

vate as if they were filled with good stalks, each bearing a twelve or fourteen ounce ear."

The points emphasized in the lectures were:

(1) The low average of thirty-one bushels per acre over the State, while many farmers were producing sixty to seventy bushels per acre. (2) The poor stand, due to poor seed, uneven dropping of seed by the planter, and poor preparation of the seed-bed. (3) Planting unsuitable varieties, and also corn which has deteriorated under unfavorable conditions. (4) What the farmer himself can do toward improving his corn by selection and breeding, with emphasis on the imperative necessity of careful selection and testing of seed, accompanied by simple directions for doing it.

A HUNDRED BUSHELS AN ACRE.

Professor Holden figures out with startling clearness to the corn-grower what his certain profits will be, what astonishing gains will come to him, from ordinary care.

"It is customary to plant corn," he says, "in hills three and a half feet apart each way, three kernels in a hill. Fair land with ordinary care produce a good ear on at least two stalks in every hill, and should produce three ears. There are 3556 hills to the acre, so there should be 10,668 stalks. One twelve-ounce ear to the hill makes thirty-eight bushels an acre; an eight-ounce ear to the hill makes 25.5 bushels per acre. So you

see two twelve-ounce ears would give seventy-six bushels to the acre, and if you add an eight-ounce nubbin there are over 100 bushels. Good corn-growers, who give proper care to the selection and testing of their seed, the preparation of the ground and the cultivation, will have a large percentage of sixteen-ounce ears, few small ones, and very few hills with less than two good ears. One hundred bushels per acre is neither impracticable nor difficult."

WORTH TWELVE MILLIONS IN ONE YEAR.

The average yield of corn in Iowa for the ten years ending with 1906 was 31.5 bushels per acre. The highest was 40.3, in 1900, when the farm value was 27 cents per bushel. The lowest was twenty-nine bushels per acre, in 1897, when the value was only 17 cents. The yield in 1903, the last year before the seed-corn special trains, was thirty-one bushels. In 1904 it was thirty-six, in 1905 it was 37.2, and in 1906, when the farmers were getting the full benefit of what they had learned, it was forty-one bushels per acre. The State had 9,443,960 acres of corn that year, and it was worth 33 cents a bushel on the farm December 1. Suppose the gain creditable to the educational campaign to have been only four bushels per acre, the increase over the previous year, and we have a

gain of 37,775,840 bushels, which at the current price of 33 cents was worth \$12,345,027, or about 10 per cent. of the value of the entire crop. Is it any wonder that the farmers of Iowa are grateful to the college at Ames, and especially to Professors Curtiss and Holden, and are ready to listen to what they and their associates may advise?

THE COLLEGE ITSELF, AND ITS METHODS.

During the last four years the Department of Animal Husbandry in the college at Ames has furnished thirty men to the faculties of twenty different agricultural colleges, and now has applications from other States. The enrollment in the regular collegiate course in agriculture is larger than in any other agricultural college in the United States. The animal husbandry department has carried on extension work for several years on its own account.

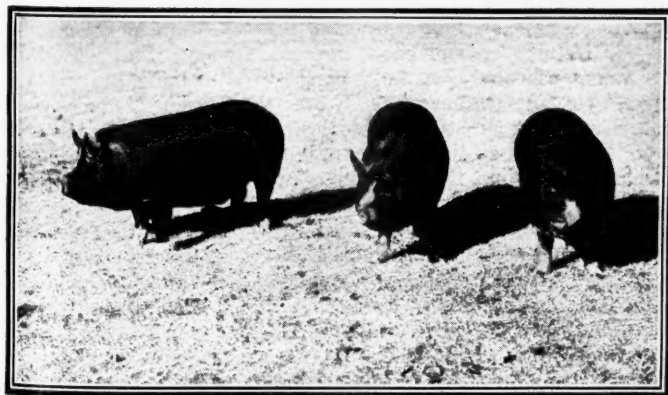
The beginning of the "short-course" idea was the ten weeks' "short course" in dairying, established in Wisconsin and Iowa about 1890. A conspicuous employment of student knowledge is in stock-judging at fairs, county, State and district, with annual contests among the students of all the Western colleges at the International Live Stock Exposition, held in Chicago in December. Iowa has won a majority of the honors. Scholarships at the college are given by the State Fair as prizes in a stock-judging contest among Iowa boys. This fair is an educational institution in itself, bringing together 30,000 people a day for nearly a week. It is being housed in its own brick buildings of ample size, and the Legislature has just given

it an \$80,000 building in which to show the 3000 swine that are exhibited,—more than any other show in the world can boast. The cattle show is not exceeded by any pure-bred show. The college is liberally supported by the State, and the last three splendid new buildings, just now being finished, cost over \$1,000,000. An annual tax of a fifth of a mill is provided for new buildings. A correspondence school and a summer school are being planned, to further extend the usefulness of the institution. It is advertised by the results it shows and by the fame of its men. Dean Curtiss has been for years recognized as one of the most eminent authorities on live stock in America, and the feeding and breeding experiments he has carried on have been as notable in practical results as the corn experiments by Professor Holden.

AGRICULTURE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

"A farmer who has a \$100,000 farm near a good town," said Professor Holden, "told me the other day he was afraid to send his only son to the high school in town, because the teachers there were likely to lead the boy away from the farm and try to persuade him that he 'ought to be doing something better than farming.' I find many farmers have the same feeling toward the high schools. The teachers, having little interest in or knowledge of agriculture, constantly hold before the boys the attractions of other ways of living, and discourage them from following the business their fathers are soon going to be ready to turn over to them. The farmers are entitled to a fair showing of the dignity of agriculture and of the opportunities

and demand for brains in the business. The elements of agriculture must be taught in the public schools, and it will soon be done. The sentiment for agricultural high schools is strong, and another Legislature will probably make some provision for them. Teachers must be prepared to lead the children with sympathy and understanding to a wider knowledge of the common things about them.—in short, to prepare them for life."



"IOWA MORTGAGE-LIFTERS."

(Grand champion Berkshires shown by the Iowa State College at the International Stock Show in Chicago in 1906.)



MISS RAUSCH'S CLASS IN DOMESTIC SCIENCE AT THE MOUNT PLEASANT "SHORT COURSE."

DOMESTIC SCIENCE THE WOMAN'S PART.

Improvement in the Iowa farmer's home is keeping pace with that in the fields and barnyards, and it can no longer be said that the stock is better housed than the family. Roomy, comfortable, well-kept homes are in the majority.

Miss Mary F. Rausch, the practical enthusiast in charge of domestic science in the extension department in the college, has her time pledged months ahead for lectures at farmers' institutes, county fairs, schools, women's clubs, "short courses," etc. With common sense and tact she has won the attention and respect of experienced housekeepers, who are grateful to her for showing easier and better ways of doing things. She thinks it is wiser to show a farmer's wife how to make a good pie than to argue with her about the unhealthfulness of all pie. She insists that the farmer's wife shall have a share of his prosperity and generally finds the men in hearty sympathy with her, once they are shown how to lighten the wife's burdens. One farmer who said her lecture cost him \$100 in "modern fixings," including water in the house, told Miss Rausch that it

was a mighty good investment, it made his wife so much happier. Sanitary improvements and various reforms follow her lectures.

"Almost every day," said Miss Rausch, "women come to me and say that their lives would have been much easier and happier if they had learned some of these things at the beginning of their married life. They tell me they and their children are healthier since they learned to bake their bread thoroughly and chew their food well. This is one of the results of the bread-making contests we have had all over the State. Many women are eager to hear about the right foods for little children, and profit by what they learn. Even the older women resolve to begin doing their housework in the easier and better way. One woman seventy-six years old drove three miles and back every day for six days to attend the domestic-science course.

"I believe," Miss Rausch summed up her work, "that the day is coming, and very rapidly, too, when people will think that it is just as important for a girl to learn how to keep house intelligently, economically and healthfully as it is for a young man to prepare for his life work."

SAN FRANCISCO'S REGENERATION.

BY COLVIN B. BROWN.

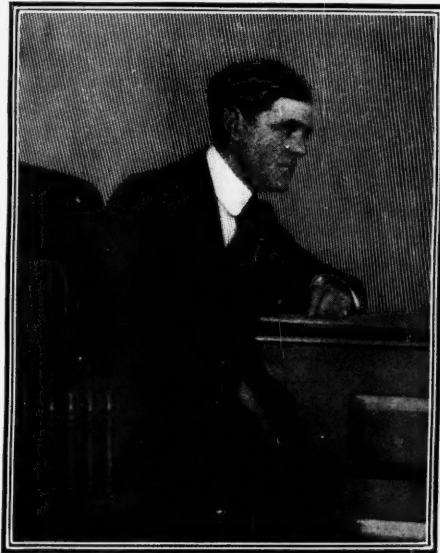
SAN FRANCISCO is essentially a commercial city. Its harbor, locked in by a wind-break of high hills, is big and deep enough to accommodate any possible demands that may be made upon it. Across the Pacific Ocean, to the west, lies the Orient, with its hundreds of millions of people. Southward lies the west coast of South America, Panama, and Mexico. To the north lies Alaska. On the landward side of the city lies an exceptionally fertile and productive country. Here practically every crop known to the north and south temperate zones is grown successfully. Last year this hinterland of San Francisco produced 4,700,000 centals of wheat, 24,000,000 bushels of barley, 50,000 carloads of fresh fruit and its products, 41,000,000 gallons of wine, 6,500,000 bushels of potatoes and other vegetables in proportion, 22,000,000 pounds of wool, 900,000,000 feet of lumber, 35,000,000 barrels of petroleum and \$19,700,000 worth of gold; and this is but a small fraction of the gross products of the region and but a suggestion of their great variety. The products of forest, field, and mine are conveyed by a network of railroads and two important navigable rivers to a common focal point at San Francisco, where river steamer and railroad car meet the ocean freighter. Upon the snow-clad peaks of the Sierra Nevada mountain range which sweeps down the eastern border line is stored sufficient water to irrigate every acre within the valleys and provide power for every railroad and factory that

will probably ever be built within the State.

INCONVENIENCE BUT TEMPORARY.

The disaster which befell San Francisco in April, 1906, did not affect any of the natural resources upon which the city depends for its trade and commerce. That section in which business was housed was destroyed by fire. The volume of commerce waiting to be handled was as big as ever, and the lack of warehouses and office buildings was but a temporary inconvenience.

This was so patent to every burned-out San Francisco business man that before the ashes of his former site were cold he was planning to reopen, and had telegraphed East for a new stock of merchandise. The inevitable result was that the need of



JUDGE F. H. DUNNE, OF SAN FRANCISCO.
(In whose court the graft cases were tried.)

business housing facilities was immediate and pressing. Stocks of goods en route at the time of the disaster began to arrive at the Oakland freight yards. To these were soon added cars ordered by telegraph. Within a few weeks 10,000 carloads of freight were in the Oakland yards waiting to be unloaded. The railroads began to run short of rolling stock and threatened to charge demurrage on cars that were not unloaded within a given time. In the meanwhile about half the city's population were clamoring for a chance to replace the personal effects they had lost in the fire. Merchants naturally saw opportunity for profits, quick and big, if they could but get a place in which to display their goods. The demand for carpenters

was tremendous. The supply was below normal, many having fled the city. What followed was a matter of course. Those who had buildings to erect began bidding against one another to get mechanics. Wages were forced up almost to where they were in pioneer days. What had been residence property before the fire now became valuable for business purposes. The artisan with a double wage found that he had to pay a double rent. The corner grocer and butcher were informed that from twice to many times the former rent would be demanded by the landlord. Consequently groceries and meat advanced stiffly in price. As was to have been expected, an era of high prices ensued.

EFFECT OF HIGH PRICES.

Unlike Baltimore, San Francisco is far removed from densely populated centers. To a very large extent she is dependent upon her own population for any work there is to do, and any sudden demand in excess of the supply of labor is bound to furnish workingmen with an excuse for demanding increased pay. In the case of San Francisco, however, it is to be remembered that the workingmen were by no means alone in seizing the opportunity to make profit out of conditions. Lumber dealers combined and sent the price of their commodity higher than it had been in years. Cement dealers did likewise. Structural material of all sorts advanced in price. The increased cost of labor was but one of the factors in the increased cost of building.

Notwithstanding this condition of high prices, which was evidently but temporary, property owners were not deterred from making improvements, permanent and substantial as well as temporary. Throughout the city was heard the sound of hammer and saw, the rumbling of trucks, and the puffing of hoisting engines. Some temporary buildings were erected almost overnight. Big steel-frame, fireproof buildings, whose walls had withstood the heat, were repaired and made even better than before. Many new buildings of the "Class A" type were started. Instead of a city bowed down by the awful calamity of earthquake and fire, it immediately became and has since practically continued to be a very ant-hill of industry, where all are busy with a fixed purpose, and most are more prosperous than ever before. This statement needs only to be modified to this extent:

There were certain lines of industry in San Francisco which failed to benefit by the

increased demand for labor and were undoubtedly affected by the increased cost of living. Reference is made to the employees of the street railroads, telephone company, laundries, and the like. Demands made upon employers for increased wages were refused and strikes followed. The most serious of these was the strike of the street-car employees, who demanded \$3 for an eight-hour day. The union to which these people belong had subscribed to an arbitration agreement, and the officials of the company declared that the strike was in direct opposition to the agreement. Every street-car in the city was stopped; business suffered in consequence, and there was a general tightening of the money market. At this writing the cars are running, but the service is by no means so good as before the strike. That this matter will be properly adjusted there is no doubt; but at present it occupies a position of peculiar importance in the San Francisco situation.

UNION-LABOR RULE.

In order to understand the situation it will be necessary to go back to 1900, when a new charter adopted by San Francisco and approved by the State Legislature, went into effect. Under this charter the Mayor, elected for a two-year term, was given greatly increased powers. He was given the appointment of all his subordinates and was alone responsible for the administration of affairs. James D. Phelan was the first Mayor under the new charter, and during the second year of his term a teamsters' strike occurred, which was marked by peculiar vindictiveness and brutality. Mr. Phelan, as Mayor, acceded to demands made upon him by an organization of business men calling itself the Employers' Association and placed policemen in uniform on the wagons to protect strike-breaking drivers. The strike was settled in a manner which left both sides discontented; but it had showed the workingmen of San Francisco that if they could control the office of Mayor they would hold the whip hand in any future labor troubles that might occur.

With this object in view the Union-Labor party was organized, and Eugene E. Schmitz, leader of a theatrical orchestra and member of the Musicians' Union, was nominated for Mayor. The nomination was secured largely through the efforts of Abraham Ruef, a close personal friend of the candidate. At that time Ruef was conducting a small law practice and dabbling in Republican politics "on

the side." He had just been defeated at the Republican primaries, and it was this that determined him to throw his influence to the Union-Labor ticket and take charge of the campaign. To the surprise of the business community Schmitz was elected by 21,000 votes.

That the city prospered under his administration seems to be the general opinion. In any event, he was again elected in 1903, this time by 26,000 votes, an increase of 5000; and this notwithstanding the fact that he was pitted against Franklin K. Lane, present member of the Interstate Commerce Commission and an experienced Democratic politician, and Henry J. Crocker, one of San Francisco's wealthiest and best-known citizens. Schmitz was again elected in 1905, this time winning by 42,000 votes, and carrying with him the entire Union-Labor ticket. An analysis of this vote showed that the ticket was supported by many of the business men of the city, principally the smaller class of retailers. This was presumably upon the theory that unionism, strongly intrenched in power, would make for high wages and high wages make good business.

With the Mayor whom he had been mainly instrumental in placing in office, and whose strong personal friend and legal advisor he was, Abraham Ruef, the erstwhile Republican boss, was in a position of remarkable power for good or evil.

A PROFITABLE LAW PRACTICE.

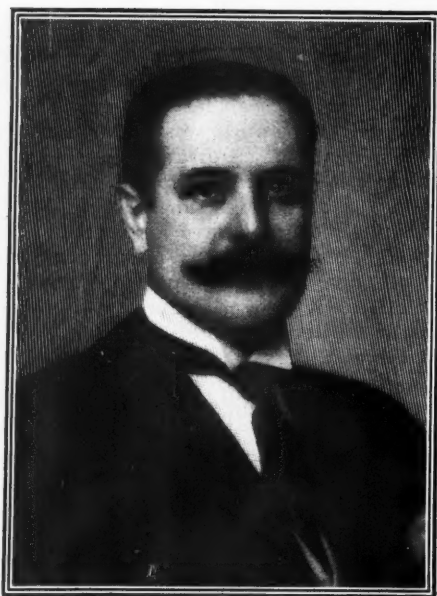
As early as 1902 it began to be rumored that the only effective way in which to secure special favors from the administration was by employing the services of Attorney Abraham Ruef. Little by little these rumors spread. It was openly stated that under the guise of legal services Ruef was selling licenses, protecting illegal enterprises, and securing great profit out of his friendship with the head of the city government. Mayor Schmitz was spoken to on the subject and stoutly maintained that Ruef was an excellent lawyer and a man of unblemished character, in whose judgment he had the utmost confidence. By the end of the second Schmitz administration it was openly stated in the press and on the streets that Ruef, and not Schmitz, was Mayor *de facto*, and that all matters coming before the Mayor for approval were first submitted to him. That this was the view of the case taken by many large corporations and by practically all persons conducting business requiring li-

cense seems undisputed. Ruef's law practice grew enormously, and by the end of the second administration he was known to be a wealthy man, with an income running into thousands a month. It was not until 1905, however, that charges of graft became open and notorious. Heretofore, it had been charged that Ruef was simply acting as attorney for those who hired him in the belief that his friendship with the Mayor made his services more valuable than would be those of an outsider. Now, however, it was openly argued that these "attorney's fees" were divided with the Mayor and the Board of Supervisors.

This was the condition of affairs when the disaster of April, 1906, fell upon the city. In those awful days politics and talk of graft were forgotten. Every one's attention was turned to relieving distress and preserving order. The way Mayor Schmitz arose to the occasion surprised even his most ardent admirers. So well did he conduct himself that he immediately became one of the most admired men in California. Grasping the situation with a master hand, without regard to politics, he called to his aid the leading business men of San Francisco, many of whom were his bitterest enemies. Under his leadership these men, organized into committees, administered a relief fund running into the millions, accounting for every cent, and maintained order where there otherwise would have been chaos.

SPECIFIC CHARGES OF GRAFT.

While Mayor Schmitz and his committees were thus conducting affairs others, with a seemingly larger self-interest, were looking about to see how money was to be made. It was not at all certain but the business center of the city would shift permanently. Property values outside the burned district rose enormously. Speculation was rampant. There was a general scramble for special privileges, and the services of Abraham Ruef, the attorney, were in greater demand than ever. Then arose the cry of graft, so loud and insistent that it could not be ignored. It was charged that the United Railroads, which is the name the local street railway goes by, had bribed the Board of Supervisors to grant an overhead trolley franchise in place of the open-slot system wanted by the people; that the gas company had bribed the members of the board to raise the price of gas from 75 to 85 cents per 1000 feet; that the telephone company had paid to keep a rival



MR. RUDOLPH SPRECKELS.

(Who pledged \$100,000 from his private fortune toward the expenses of the San Francisco graft investigation and prosecutions.)

out of the field; that low dives and resorts were opening up under police protection and paying tribute to Abraham Ruef and the administration which he controlled. Everybody believed that there was truth in many if not all of these statements, but how to investigate the charges and procure indictments and convictions where the administration controlled every branch of the city government, including a large section of the judiciary and the sheriff's office, was a question.

Rudolph Spreckels, a young millionaire banker, son of Claus Spreckels of sugar fame, came forward with an offer to pledge \$100,000 toward defraying the expenses of a searching investigation of all charges of graft and the prosecution of offenders. Ex-Mayor James D. Phelan agreed to stand by him in the matter. William J. Langdon, who had been elected District-Attorney on the Union-Labor ticket, announced his intention to conduct the inquiry regardless of his party affiliations with the administration or who might be brought to book; and it was evident that he meant what he said. Abraham Ruef was one of those who believed that Langdon intended doing his duty. Strange as it may seem, Ruef actually succeeded in getting the board to remove Langdon and to appoint him

instead. This showed how completely he controlled the board, and the act was construed by the public to be a virtual acknowledgment of guilt. Intense excitement ensued. A mass meeting of business men was called to meet on Union Square. This meeting was packed and captured by Ruef.

DIVISION INTO FACTIONS.

Rudolph Spreckels, by virtue of his offer to furnish funds, immediately became leader of the graft prosecutions. Of course, he was charged with ulterior motives. Those who were in the way of becoming indicted immediately charged him with seeking political preferment and financial gain. They also charged him with a desire to revenge himself on Patrick Calhoun, president of the United Railroads, who had beaten him in a railway franchise deal. Calhoun has since been indicted for bribery in connection with the securing of this franchise. Those who support Spreckels, such, for instance, as James D. Phelan, whose civic patriotism has never been questioned, declared that Spreckels was and is animated only by a desire to clean out a corrupt city administration and restore San Francisco to the place to which it is entitled among progressive American cities.

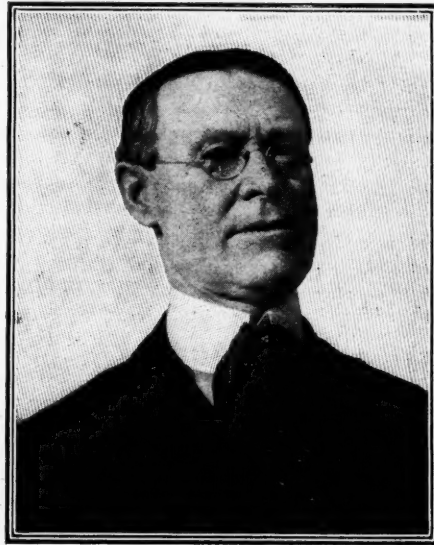
Spreckels' first move was to secure the services of Francis J. Heney, who had gained a reputation for himself while acting for the United States Government in the prosecution of the Oregon land frauds. With Heney came William J. Burns, a detective in the employ of the United States Secret Service. Both Heney and Burns secured leave of absence from the Government in order to enable them to conduct the work of investigation and prosecution in San Francisco. It is said that in giving them their instructions Spreckels stated that he wished the whole matter to be probed to the very depths, regardless of who might be affected, and that no quarter was to be shown even to his closest personal friends should any such be found to be mixed up in the riot of municipal graft. The prosecution was to be thorough and without fear or favor.

The matter of the legality of the action of the Board of Supervisors in removing Langdon and appointing Ruef as District-Attorney was taken into court, and after a bitter fight the courts decided such action to have been illegal. Francis J. Heney was then appointed by District-Attorney Langdon as his assistant.

Results followed. Abraham Ruef was in-

dicted for extorting money from the French restaurants, and when arraigned for trial, after having exhausted every legal quibble, pleaded guilty. Mayor Schmitz was indicted on a charge similar to the one to which Ruef pleaded guilty. He was in Europe at the time, but hastened back to face the accusation. He was found guilty before a jury and sentenced to five years in the State penitentiary. Fifteen of the eighteen members of the Board of Supervisors confessed to having accepted bribes for the granting of franchises from various corporations, immunity being granted in return for their confessions. Upon these confessions indictments were found against Patrick Calhoun, president of the United Railroads; Thornwell Mullally, its vice-president; Tirey L. Ford, its chief attorney, and against Frank G. Drum, John Martin, Eugene de Sabla, G. H. Umlsen, J. E. Green, A. K. Detweiler, and Louis Glass, all prominent officials of leading public-utility corporations.

The prosecution announces its intention of pushing the charges against these prominent men with all the vigor that characterized the prosecution of Ruef and Schmitz. The result is that the city is divided into two



ASSISTANT DISTRICT-ATTORNEY FRANCIS J. HENRY.

(The chief figure in the prosecution of the San Francisco grafters. Mr. Heney had won his spurs as United States Government counsel in the Oregon land-fraud cases. His fearlessness has made him a marked man on the Western coast.)



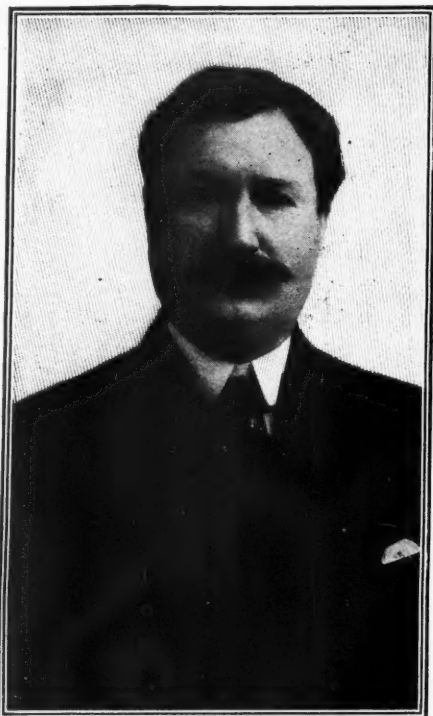
DISTRICT-ATTORNEY WILLIAM J. LANGDON, OF SAN FRANCISCO.

(The Union-Labor official who prosecuted his party associates when he had become convinced of their guilt.)

factions. One of these supports the prosecution. The other is opposed to it. The striking thing about the situation is that many of the leading bankers and business men of the city are on the side of the opposition.

THE DIFFERENT VIEWPOINTS.

In order to understand the different viewpoints it is necessary to consider the present condition of municipal officialdom. Every official of the city is a member of the Union-Labor party. The chief executive is in jail convicted of a felony. All but three of the eighteen Supervisors, which are the law-making body of the city, are self-confessed felons. The chief of police has been indicted. A strike of the street-car men is in progress, and this strike has been a big money loss to business. Patrick Calhoun, president of the United Railroads, is looked upon as the champion of the interests of the business community as opposed to the claims of the striking carmen. Many claim to see in Calhoun's prosecution an effort to aid the strikers, and openly state this to be their opinion. Others claim that the prosecution of so many prominent corporation officials at the present time not only aids the strikers and frightens away



DETECTIVE WILLIAM J. BURNS.

(The man who secured the evidence involving the San Francisco supervisors, Ruef, Mayor Schmitz, and other well-known citizens.)

capital, but leads the world to think that property is unsafe in San Francisco.

Francis J. Heney, in a letter to the San Francisco press, puts the matter in this wise:

The moment that a politician is charged with crime the charge is made by himself and friends that the attack is prompted by political motives. This cry was made by Ruef and Schmitz when the graft prosecutions were commenced. At that time it was claimed by Schmitz, Ruef, and their friends that Mr. Langdon, Mr. Rudolph Spreckels, and myself were maliciously endeavoring to destroy the Labor-Union party and labor unions generally, and that this purpose constituted our sole motive in undertaking the prosecution of the alleged grafters. At that time most of the banks and most of the merchants and many of the wealthy men who are now denouncing us were loud in their praises. They wanted to see "all of the grafters" sent to the penitentiary. We heard then that it would be a splendid thing to relieve the city of its incubus of corruption. The moment that we commenced to uncover rich criminals and to demonstrate that our motto would be "No man is above the law," the attitude of many of the bankers, merchants and predatorial rich changed. Now the prosecutors are charged with a malicious desire to perpetuate

the Labor-Union party and labor unions in general.

In this same letter Heney charges that representatives of nearly every bank in San Francisco have met and pledged Patrick Calhoun their support; that they have worked upon the fears of the merchant and other borrowing classes with the statement that the prosecution is injuring the credit of the city. So the prosecution is very far from receiving the united support of the business interests of San Francisco, and to this extent it is working under a great disadvantage. At the same time it seems certain that the prosecution will proceed as it has commenced and will not cease its efforts until every man indicted for the giving of bribes has been convicted or acquitted by a jury, and this in spite of any opposition that may arise. This matter will probably be definitely decided in the election for city officials which will take place in November. It will then be decided whether the mass of the people approves of a continuance of the prosecution. So far as is known it has not yet been determined definitely how many tickets will be in the field nor what these tickets will represent. That matter will be determined at the primaries which will be held on August 13.

Paradoxical as it may seem, there is probably no city to-day in the United States as free from graft as San Francisco. The self-confessed boodlers who constitute the Board of Supervisors still remain in office, but they are under the absolute domination of those who have pledged themselves to eliminate graft from municipal affairs and restore a stable city government. It seems undoubted that the great majority of the voters are in sympathy with this purpose.

FINANCIAL CONDITIONS GOOD.

Financially San Francisco is in an excellent condition. With an assessment roll of \$429,000,000 it has a borrowing capacity under the charter of \$60,000,000, whereas its present bonded indebtedness is but \$5,000,000. Nearly \$80,000,000 has been expended in rebuilding since the fire. A bulletin issued by the California Promotion Committee gives the following summary for the month of June: Value of building permits issued, \$3,916,450; bank clearings, \$177,307,227; customs receipts, \$668,176. During the last week in June San Francisco's bank clearings amounted to \$43,969,000, as against \$30,316,113 for the corresponding week last year, and \$33,480,200 for the corre-

sponding week in 1905. According to clearing-house statements, San Francisco is doing more business than all the other cities of the Pacific Coast combined, the total clearings for all other Pacific Coast cities amounting to only \$41,292,000 for the week used for comparison. Customs receipts for the port of San Francisco during the fiscal year ending June 30 amounted to \$10,147,010.86, as against \$7,449,196.41 for the year ending June 30, 1906. The past year's customs receipts are the highest in twenty-four years.

Such a showing as this is surely remarkable in consideration of the fact that San Francisco is engaged in a physical and moral clean-up such as perhaps never before occupied the time and attention of any people. The physical regeneration which has taken place during the past year has been a surprise to the city's most sanguine friends. In almost every instance new buildings have been of a better class than those destroyed.

More than half the burned area is now under cover, and it has been but a little more than a year since the disaster. Moral regeneration is proceeding with equal certainty. Those who are at the head of the graft prosecutions have demonstrated that they are without fear and that there is to be no cessation in the work of moral clean-up until every guilty person has been discovered and punished. And when the world wakes up to the fact that the seemingly impossible has in fact been accomplished,—that San Francisco has restored all her facilities for trade and established an honest and stable city government,—then there will be no difficulty in securing all the outside capital that may be necessary. San Francisco will beat down all obstacles which may oppose her progress, because the physical facts are in her favor and she has an American citizenship of pioneer blood that nothing but complete victory will satisfy, now that the battle is on.

CO-OPERATIVE CONSUMERS' ASSOCIATIONS IN RUSSIA.

BY HERMAN ROSENTHAL.

CO-OPERATION in general was known to the Russians in the Middle Ages. The *Druzhina*, or *Vataga*, dating back to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, was the earliest manifestation of co-operative activity in the land of the Czars. Originally organized for co-operative hunting and fishing, these associations gradually came to include groups of laborers known as *artels*. There were *artels* of porters, boatmen, teamsters, packers, sorters of hemp and flax, and of bank and stock-exchange messengers.

With the native *artel* as a basis, the idea of co-operation was stimulated into new life by the teachings of Schultze-Delitsch in the '60's of the last century. His *Genossenschaften* (association) system found enthusiastic supporters in the Baltic provinces, and subsequently all over Russia.

The founding of the first co-operative consumers' society in Riga, in 1865, was soon followed by many others. Almost all of them, however, passed out of existence after a short period, and but one of these early associations, the co-operative consumers' society, "Merkurius," founded in Warsaw, in 1869, is still flourishing. The general reason for

the failure of the early consumers' associations lay in the fact that they were not founded in response to any popular demand; their organization was not prompted by dire need, and, consequently, the principal motive and stimulus for co-operation was totally lacking.

The writer participated in the co-operative movement of the '60's in south Russia. Together with other young idealists of that period he saw in co-operative associations a means for stimulating the growth of broader political ideas in Russia. But as a means to an end, and not the end in themselves, these early societies were foredoomed to failure. Many other causes, like mismanagement and want of experience, contributed also to accomplish the doom of the pioneer co-operative associations.

Most prosperous among the co-operative consumers' associations in Russia at present are the so-called "manufacturing industry co-operative consumers' associations," mainly composed of laborers and employees in factories and other industrial establishments. Greatest of these is the association connected with the Putilov works, in a suburb of St.

Petersburg. It was started in 1880, with about 100 members, and a capital of 7500 rubles. The association's membership at present is 2168, and it not only possesses considerable funds, but has also its own bakeries, breweries, stores, dining-halls, and other real property. The goods handled by this association are bought directly from domestic and foreign producers, and the enterprise yields a munificent profit (from 100 to 200 per cent. on the capitalization). Members owning shares receive substantial dividends, sometimes up to 24 per cent., and the common consumers get a bonus on every dollar's worth of purchase. Besides this, part of the net profit is used for benevolent purposes, for schools, invalids' homes, asylums for the aged, etc.

For the great success of this co-operative association credit is due, in no small degree, to a couple of prudent stipulations in its statutes: 1. That members holding shares may be expelled if not actually patronizing the association. 2. That even non-members become entitled to a bonus on every dollar's worth of purchase, by which inducement the trade of the association is kept steadily increasing.

Unfortunately, the factory co-operative associations do not always serve the interests of the workmen. In most of the industrial communities of the Ural districts there exist so-called "consumers' stores," which are supposed to aim at offsetting the extortionate prices for necessities charged by local small dealers. These stores, however, are often controlled by the factory owners and managed by them more for their own profit than for the protection and benefit of the workmen, who under such circumstances are even worse off,—because they are compelled to buy their provisions from the factory store alone,—than when dealing with the local merchants.

Quite important a part is played by the rural consumers' co-operative associations, which are not only very useful, but even necessary in remote localities. In this connection it might be mentioned that the co-operative bakeries in the country districts are, relatively, the best paying of all common enterprises. It is obvious that the rural associations should meet with greater success than those in the industrial communities, for the reason that the peasants are, to a far greater extent than the factory-workers, exposed to the extortions and trickeries of the local dealers. Since the abolition of the saloons and bar rooms, after the establishment of the

liquor monopoly, the former inn-keepers have, in a great many instances, sought a livelihood as storekeepers, in which capacity they employ all their innate and experience-developed ingenuity to squeeze the last kopeck out of the poor peasant.

The co-operative movement is particularly strong in the villages of the government Nizhni Novgorod. In seven districts there are fifteen consumers' associations, of which nine have been organized within the last three years. The success of all these co-operative associations would, however, be immensely greater, and the actual proceeds would increase considerably, if the various organizations grouped themselves together for the purpose of buying their goods. But so far the associations seem rather desirous of keeping aloof, one from another, than of working for unification and the common advantage obviously incident thereto.

The best results are undoubtedly presented by such co-operative associations whose members belong to the same class of society. To this kind of associations the five greatest ones in Russia, as far as membership is concerned, are counted. First among these stands the railway employees' association, in Perm, which, in 1902, had 8800 members, and a net profit of 71,164 rubles from the preceding year. Second in importance is the "Officers' Economic Association," of St. Petersburg, with 5374 regular members and 2606 annual subscribers. After these come the co-operative associations of the machine-shop workmen, in Kolomny, the factory-workers, in Orechowo-Syjewo (government of Vladimir), and the employees of the Yekaterinsk Railway.

In contrast to the above associations are those which are composed of different social elements. Some of them have, through wise management, been able to keep up their existence, and have even prospered, as, for instance, the "Mutual Help Society," of Novgorod and the co-operative consumers' association, in Tikhwin (government of Novgorod). The latter was, at one time, even in such a flourishing condition that the members were allowed a dividend of 26 per cent. on their shares and, besides this, a bonus of 9 per cent. on every dollar's worth of purchase. But, on the whole, these mixed co-operative societies enjoy, in the greater number of cases, only a comparatively short period of prosperity, after which they appear to fall into decay quite rapidly. The reasons for this are many and characteristic of Russian life.

Take, for an example, the general consumers' association, in Perm. It was organized in 1897, with 323 members, and its early career was marked by great, even phenomenal, success. Elated on this account, the shareholders suggested the extension of the business into commercial fields which were strange to the original purpose of the enterprise and received but meager patronage from the greater number of the members. The result was, that the stores of the association were packed with a stock of non-selling articles, the carrying of which consumed a good deal of the profit made on the sale of necessities, thus causing a stagnation, or even retrogression, in the business of the association.

Still more precarious became the condition of the co-operative association in Samara, principally through the indiscriminate use of the credit system. According to the statutes of that association, share-holding members were entitled to temporary credit, when buying goods, for a certain amount, the size of which should be regulated by the capital represented by the shares. This rule, if adhered to strictly, would have caused no inconvenience or embarrassment, but instead of that, the directors and managers extended credit to their friends and acquaintances almost unlimitedly, with the unfailing consequence that many of these favored customers incurred considerable debts to the association and, on being refused further credit accommodation, dropped out altogether, leaving their unpaid bills behind. Such a state of affairs, must, of course, be exclusively blamed on the management of the association, whose recklessness, in this case, hardly falls short of being criminal.

The once prosperous "Mutual Help Association" in Moscow can ascribe its recent decline to the frequent changes in its management, causing the exploitation of a number of different business policies, at the greatest cost and with the most damaging effects to the association. A society of similar name in Odessa was precipitated into the throes of dissolution by undisguised mismanagement. Twenty-seven men were employed in its two little stores, and practically the entire profits were gobbled up for salaries to directors, managers, help, etc. Taking the majority of mixed consumers' co-operative associations into consideration, it may be generally stated, that the "educated" element in them has quite often, by insisting on the introduction of business policies incompatible with the

true aim of the enterprise, hampered the sound development and progress of the latter, and even contributed to its complete failure, in many instances.

The number of co-operative consumers' associations in Russia was (in November, 1903) 824. In order to compile some statistics, in regard to these, the "Permanent Commission for Co-operative Associations" sent out some inquiry blanks which, in 204 cases, were properly filled out and returned. From these reports is gathered that the 204 associations had together 91,417 members and 26,402 annual subscribers, making a total number of about 118,000 customers. The average membership of the associations was 577. The number of employees was 3258, or 16 per association, and the expenses for wages and maintenance of these amounted to 1,131,307 rubles, or averaging 5515 rubles for each association. The total capital reached a sum of more than 4,000,000 rubles, which item was counterbalanced by a total indebtedness of nearly an equal amount. Of the entire net profit,—1,270,000 rubles,—256,539 rubles were distributed as dividends on shares, 590,857 rubles as premiums on purchases, and 68,155 were paid into the government as taxes. On the average, each association made a net profit of 6260 rubles, of which it disbursed 1251 rubles in share-dividends and 2882 rubles in premiums. For educational purposes the 204 Russian co-operative societies set aside 4836 rubles, or 23½ rubles per association, and for benevolent institutions, 38.6 rubles each.

Since eight years back there exists in Moscow a "Purchasing Union of Russian Consumers' Co-operative Associations," which, in 1904, had been joined by 126 individual associations, and gave fair promise of success along the line of saving expenses for the various organizations in making wholesale purchases.

Political conditions in Russia have, no doubt, had their share in stunting the natural growth and progress of the co-operative associations, which have likewise been handicapped by other agencies, as set forth previously. Yet, enterprises of this kind are urgently called for by the need of the times, and it can be safely asserted that the co-operative consumers' associations are destined to play an important part in the future national life of Russia. The statistical data in this article are taken from the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaftliche Vorträge*, and have been verified from Russian sources.



THESE BOYS ARE OF THE SAME AGE, BUT OF WIDELY DIFFERENT DEGREES OF MENTALITY.
(Three French lads of eleven years of age, whose heads are of unequal volume. Number 1 [at the left] is five years in advance of the normal; No. 2, two years in advance; No. 3, five years behind.)

THE STUDY OF THE HUMAN PLANT.

BY FREDERIC LEES.

[This account of how the physical, mental, and moral value of children is ascertained in a Paris laboratory for experimental psychology is contributed by one of the workers in the laboratory. Mr. Lees is an *officier de l'Instruction Publique*.—THE EDITOR.]

THE "human plant,"—to borrow a happy expression that recently originated with one of our leading magazines,—is at last being studied with the seriousness that it deserves. In various parts of the world, but especially in France, scientists are beginning to devote their attention to child life, with the object of discovering in what way it can be ameliorated, physically, intellectually and morally. The progress that they have made is already noteworthy, full of promise for the future, and shows that they were not wrong in thinking that, since investigators into the subject of vegetable biology had attained such marvelous results, they themselves might reasonably hope to do likewise in their infinitely more important branch of biological science.

In the foundation of a laboratory for the scientific study of children the lead has been taken by Paris. Due to the initiative of Prof. Alfred Binet, the eminent head of the Laboratory of Psychology at the Sorbonne, it

has been established in one of the buildings of a large free school in the Rue de la Grange-aux-Belles, a street in the center of one of the most populous quarters of the city. A better field for observation could not have been chosen, the scholars being numerous, of various ages, and of many classes of society. The methods employed for ascertaining their physical, mental and moral value are also extremely interesting, and might well be adopted by scientists and pedagogues of the New World.

On the occasion of a recent visit to this school and laboratory Professor Binet obligingly consented to explain to me how the idea had originated, and in what manner he conducted his experiments. He said:

Look at these twenty to thirty pupils who, more or less attentively, are listening to their master. Do you really think that all these boys have similarly moulded minds?—that they all have the same aptitudes and the same needs? People thought so at one time. We know better now. We have come to see that educa-

tion is a question of adaptation, and that in order to adapt it to the needs of a child we must make ourselves thoroughly acquainted with his or her mental and physical characteristics. The principle, therefore, that guided me when forming this new laboratory was the knowledge of the average state of development of children of all ages,—an entirely new idea in pedagogics, and one which I imagine will prove to be very fruitful. What my assistants and I set ourselves to find out, in a strictly scientific manner, was the physical and mental value of the average child at various ages. Once having discovered this, we drew up tables of averages, and it is thanks to these that we are able to make prescriptions so definitely whenever a fresh subject arrives at our laboratory of experimental psychology. We are able, for instance, to say: "This boy's growth is retarded. Though twelve years of age, he has only the development of a child of nine. He will require special attention and special nourishment. This other scholar, on the contrary, is physically in advance of his age. He is more muscular, taller, and stronger than a boy of ten." A third boy, we note, shows a remarkable mastery over himself, while a fourth is emotional and nervous. One is an observer, calm and calculating; the other, imaginative. If the most is to be made out of them in later life, they must be educated differently. Now, don't you think that schoolmasters would be very glad to learn how to study their pupils in this way? Don't you think that it is sometimes advisable to consult a doctor on delicate points concerning a pupil's health? Don't you think that parents would be grateful if such an interest as we show here were universally taken in their children's welfare? Don't you think that society would benefit enormously if similar laboratories

to ours were opened in connection with every communal school in the land?

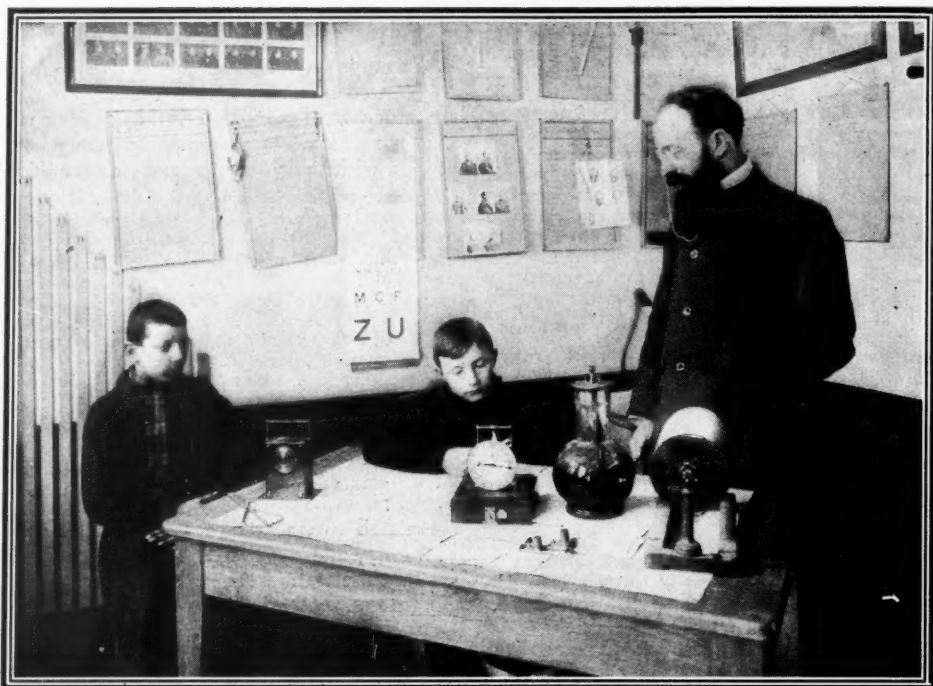
As we left the classroom and walked across the playground toward the entrance to the laboratory, Professor Binet informed me that at any rate the boys seemed to appreciate the care with which they were being studied.

We have sometimes difficulty in keeping them away, so fond are they of being measured and weighed. Yes; we always begin by taking their measurements. The body and the mind are closely united. A child who is weak, who digests badly, and whose growth is slow, cannot work properly in a class, and it would be unjust to punish him for showing want of attention. You won't make his digestion any better by punishing him, or improve the deviation of his backbone by making him copy out a hundred lines of Molière. Every time that a schoolboy shows signs of prolonged laziness, the master, instead of punishing him, should first of all find out if there is not some physical cause at the root of the evil.

We had entered one of the rooms of the laboratory, and the first thing that I noticed was that the walls were covered with various apparatuses, portraits, charts, etc. To the left was an apparatus for measuring heights. By its side was a series of pieces of wood of varying length, each representing the height at a certain age. Above were the framed portraits of children, normal and abnormal, photographed according to M. Bérillon's anthropometric system. Not far away



THESE SEVEN FRENCH BOYS ARE EACH ELEVEN YEARS OF AGE. NOTE, HOWEVER, THEIR UNEQUAL PHYSICAL GROWTH.



DETERMINING A SCHOOL BOY'S SENSITIVENESS AND ACCURACY OF TOUCH.

(Conducting an experiment with the psycho-metric apparatus at the Paris Laboratory of Experimental Psychology.)

were various instruments for measuring the width of the shoulders, the development of the head, the muscular force of the hands; a chart bearing letters of different sizes for the testing of the eyesight; and a net bag containing a number of skeins of variously colored wools, which were used to ascertain if a pupil were color-blind.

Some of these instruments are worth examining more closely. This steel ellipse, which when clinched in the hand registers the strength of the muscles of the fore-arm, is called a "dynamometer." Here is an "aesthesiometer," an instrument for measuring the degree of sensation by determining at how short a distance two impressions upon the skin can be distinguished. The tactile sensibility of one boy may differ widely from that of another, and it is important to know that fact when drawing up a record of their general state of health. The two steel points of the "aesthesiometer," which, as you see, are about an inch apart, are applied to the back of the subject's hand, after he has been blindfolded or told to look the other way. Should his sensibility be keen and normal he will distinctly feel the contact of the two needles; but if, on the other hand, it be deadened, he will think that he is being touched by only one point,—a curious fact that has often been studied by experimental psychologists.

The day's work in the adjoining school having come to an end, several of the pupils who had not yet been entered in the registers of the laboratory came to be examined. The first experiment was what Professor Binet called *une expérience d'attention*. To a group of five boys sitting around one of the tables was given a passage from a classical author. This they had to read to themselves for ten minutes, at the end of which time they committed as much of it to paper from memory as they could. "The testing of the memory of each pupil when entering a school is of the greatest importance," said M. Binet, by way of commentary. "What is the good of burdening the memory of a child with twenty lines of verse when he is by nature incapable of ever learning them correctly? To do so would be quite as absurd as forcing a lad with a weak stomach to swallow a quantity of indigestible food."

In another part of the laboratory two boys were measured for height and width of shoulders by assistants, while Professor Binet, sitting at a table near at hand, tested a third boy's suggestibility by means of a simple ap-



MEASURING THE PHYSIQUE AND THE NERVES.

(Experiments on children in the Paris Laboratory of Experimental Psychology. Prof. Alfred Binet, of the Sorbonne, is seated on the right.)

paratus consisting of two cardboard disks, one of which, bearing lines of varying length, could be revolved in such a way as to make these lines appear through a slit in the upper one. For a time the lines increase in length, but finally become invariable. An inattentive child will jump to the conclusion that they increase always, but one who is not so easily taken in will observe the change.

The director of the communal school, M. Vaney, next tested the vital capacity of one of his scholars by means of the spirometer,—an apparatus consisting of two graduated bottles, one filled with water and provided with tubes, which measures the capacity of the lungs. Blowing through a mouthpiece, after taking a deep breath, the boy displaces a certain quantity of water, and his lung capacity is registered in cubic centimetres. "The greater one's respiratory capacity," said M. Vaney, "the greater is one's vitality, the greater is one's endurance to fatigue."

"Nothing is negligible in the psychological study of children," might be Professor Binet's motto. He has even called in the as-

sistance of a Parisian palmist, who surprised him with the accuracy with which she read the characters of the hundred boys who were presented to her. In no fewer than sixty cases did she read the lines of their hands aright.

The lesson which this learned French *savant* would teach the pedagogic world of Paris and other great cities has already borne fruit. In the Rue Lecomte, in the populous seventeenth ward of the French capital, there has just been opened a special class for "abnormal children," and other similar classes are to be formed in other quarters. It is of the greatest importance that the normal and the abnormal should not be together, owing to the detrimental influence of the latter over the former. The bad must be sifted out from among the good pupils, and taught by methods specially adapted to their particular cases. This, however, cannot be done without laboratories such as that of the Rue de la Grange-aux-Belles, and it is for that reason that Prof. Alfred Binet hopes to see them some day scattered all over the land.



HON. WILLIAM H. TAFT, WHILE UNITED STATES CIRCUIT JUDGE.

WILLIAM H. TAFT AS A JUDGE ON THE BENCH.

BY RICHARD V. OULAHAN.

MR. TAFT is the very personification of energy. He is a human steam engine. He is always busy. Work, and hard work, is his pleasure. A handsome man, he would attract attention from that circumstance alone. He breathes good will and suggests mental, moral, and physical wholesomeness. Yet, with all his pleasant informality and his frequent laughter, he has a dignity of manner and carriage that commands respect and attention. You feel that he is a man of brain power, one of the few men who seem to grow greater the more intimately you know them.

Captain Seth Bullock, plainsman and friend of President Roosevelt, paid, in homely phrase, one of the highest tributes that could be paid to any human being, when he was asked his opinion of Mr. Taft. Captain Seth has the plainsman's reticence of speech. He could not gush if he tried. "What is it about Taft that you like?" he was asked. He hemmed and hawed before he answered, "He's simply all right. He's a man you don't have to be introduced to twice."

It is this ability to make people feel at their ease that is one of Mr. Taft's greatest charms. He seems to take an interest in

everybody he meets. There is nothing of the politician in his method of treating people. His manner is too natural to be studied. The farmer's boy who comes to Washington to find out about the chances of getting an appointment to the Military Academy is on friendly terms with the Secretary of War after they have talked five minutes. The statesman, the military hero, the newspaper correspondent, the department clerk, are all treated alike when they call on Mr. Taft. He plays no favorites among those whom he believes to be fair and square.

THE NEW ENGLAND CONSCIENCE.

Mr. Taft has the New-England conscience, and this helped him in his judicial career. If he thinks a thing is wrong he does not hesitate to say so. This phase of his character takes a peculiar form. He will go out of his way to avoid hurting the feelings of any of his fellow-men; he does not like to inflict pain; but frequently, when it was to his personal and political advantage to be silent, he has spoken out, because silence would mean a misunderstanding of his attitude. He wanted everybody to know how he stood. When he went to Ohio in 1905 to serve as temporary chairman of the Republican convention he made a speech which was in substance an appeal to his party brethren to smash on election day the Republican machine in Cincinnati. Taft was talked of at that time as a Presidential possibility. He knew that his course would injure him in the party organization; that he would make enemies of many whose friendship would be valuable if he were a candidate for an elective office. But to him words of praise for the Republican machine ticket in Cincinnati or silence on the subject meant hypocrisy, and his New-England conscience told him to go to the other extreme. It is this peculiarity in Taft's temperament which amazes those friends of his who think he should trim his sails in the winds of popularity.

He exhibited the trait while he was on the federal judicial bench. The prospect of a political future cut no figure with the young jurist. He has no apologies to make for his course at that time and would not brook any questioning of its fairness. To-day, as a candidate for the Presidential nomination, with the labor element a powerful factor in the determination of the result, he will not hesitate to tell exactly what he did as a judge when labor injunction cases were brought

before him. If anybody anxious to injure Mr. Taft's prospects for the Presidency wishes to get the record of his course in the labor cases he need not pursue secret methods to obtain the information. Let him apply to the office of the Secretary of War, Room 226, second floor, War Department Building, Washington, D. C., and a genial gentleman of large frame will furnish it cheerfully. Taft is not ashamed of anything he has done or afraid of the consequences of it.

Taft was thirty when he became a judge of the Superior Court in Cincinnati and only thirty-five when he was appointed a judge of the United States Circuit Court. His ambition had tended to the federal bench, and this office appeared to pave the way for the realization of his wish to be a member of the highest tribunal. The world knows how, when offered an appointment as an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, which meant the fulfillment of his heart's desire, he placed duty ahead of everything else and declined the tender. He was then in the Philippines and he preferred to stay there at the sacrifice of personal comfort and individual taste, because his departure from Manila would cause lack of confidence among the native people and interfere with the work he had set out to do. The real Taft stood out in these words telegraphed to President Roosevelt: "Look forward to time when I can accept such an offer, but even if it is certain that it can never be repeated, I must now decline." And when the President insisted that he, as President, "saw the whole field" and intended to make the appointment, Taft came back with reasons which convinced Mr. Roosevelt that the big man who wanted to be a Supreme Court jurist but refused for the sake of conscience was entitled to have his own way.

Dignified on the bench, his sedate manner was tempered by a suggestion of kindness and charity that he could not conceal. One of those associated intimately with him in the days when he wore the judicial ermine has said, "He was Judge Taft in the court-house, but Bill Taft away from there." His interest in young men, and particularly in young lawyers, was shown frequently. The law school of which he was dean was a source of great pride to him. One day, while hearing a case in the federal courtroom, he saw five law students whom he knew, sitting in rear seats. "Bring five chairs up here," he said to an attendant, and then told his secretary to invite the five students to sit beside him, a

mark of distinction and honor. The youngsters thought the secretary was joking, but he pointed to the chairs and convinced them. So the five, embarrassed but elated, took seats beside the Judge. "I thought that you'd be able to hear better up here," was Taft's explanation.

Another act of kindness was shown to a young attorney from Kentucky who had brought suit for damages against a railroad company in behalf of a woman who had been injured by a train. The attorney's petition was poorly prepared, so poorly that it would not have stood the test of a hearing. "I give you leave to amend that petition," said Judge Taft, and he pointed out wherein the paper was defective. The attorney did not appear to understand what was required of him. Judge Taft detected the trouble. "Let me see that petition," he said. He struck out some sentences in the document and made interlineations with a pencil. Then he handed it to the attorney for the railroad, a man of prominence in legal circles. "I guess that's all right," he remarked, and the railroad's representative, who was prepared to make technical objections, reluctantly accepted Judge Taft's disposition. The young fellow won the case.

READY TO ACKNOWLEDGE ERROR.

As a judge Taft earned the reputation of being fearless and just, and it was this reputation which accounts in part for his popularity in Ohio. He was never afraid to strike at evil and always ready to accept full responsibility for his judicial decisions and orders. Yet he was as ready to acknowledge any error on his part, and a remarkable instance is recorded where he actually apologized to a litigant for uncomplimentary allusions made from the bench. The town of Hartwell, in Hamilton County, Ohio, became involved in a dispute with a railroad company. There were writs of injunction and mandamus and other proceedings sought by the town authorities or the company. The Mayor of Hartwell turned the hose on workmen who tried to lay rails at night. When one aspect of the case was brought before Judge Taft he took occasion to criticize the Mayor severely. The Mayor, willing to be made a victim of the court's power to punish for contempt, wrote a letter to Judge Taft complaining bitterly that the court's reference to himself was *obiter dictum* and was entirely outside the court's powers. The Mayor confidently expected to be haled be-

fore the bar. To his surprise, however, he received a letter from Judge Taft admitting that he had gone farther than he should in his comments on the Mayor's attitude and asking the Mayor to accept his apology for what he had said.

That was Taft all through. Conscientiously believing originally that it was his duty to rebuke the Mayor, he saw the matter in a new light when an argument to show that he was wrong was presented and he made haste to correct the error, and, to emphasize the change of view, added an apology.

THE STERN AND FEARLESS MAGISTRATE.

Another instance shows Taft as the embodiment of stern justice, knowing his duty and permitting no interference with its fulfillment. An elderly man had been convicted of pension frauds in Judge Taft's court. Under the law it was optional with the Court to impose a sentence of imprisonment in a penitentiary or a jail. A son of the convicted man knew Judge Taft and had been on friendly terms with him. Presuming on their friendship, the son saw Judge Taft privately and proceeded to give reasons why the father should be sent to jail instead of the penitentiary. Judge Taft was angry. In language that left no doubt as to his state of mind, he told the son that any repetition of the attempt to influence him in a judicial matter would result in a term in jail for contempt. Crestfallen and humiliated, the son went away, believing that his father was certain to get a penitentiary sentence. Judge Taft sent the convicted man to jail. Those who know his peculiar judicial fitness do not need to be told that Taft was not influenced in any way whatever by the son's plea. He considered the matter on its merits and declined to allow his mind to be prejudiced against the father for the son's indiscretion or in the father's favor by the son's distress.

JUSTICE TEMPERED WITH MERCY.

It was not often that Judge Taft showed anger, but when he did there was nothing half-hearted about it. A man who had heard some idle talk about Taft came to tell the Judge of it. People were saying, he asserted, that Taft would not do full justice to one side in a pending case. "You get out of here or I'll throw you out," he shouted. As a matter of fact, the case was not before Taft's court. He hated a meddler. He would not tolerate a tattler.

When Judge Taft holds the scales of jus-

tice he holds them squarely. With it all, however, he is actuated by a spirit of consideration for the unfortunate and ready to show mercy whenever his sense of right tells him it is proper to do so. Toward the end of his career as a federal judge a young man was convicted in his court of violating the postal laws. Judge Taft was convinced that the offense was due more to ignorance than to criminal intent and he suspended sentence. "Come back to me in six months," he said to the defendant. The Philippine War was on when the six months expired. The young fellow who had been convicted appeared before Judge Taft with the laconic introduction, "I've come." "I see you have," said his Honor, "but what can I do for you?" Judge Taft had nearly forgotten the circumstance, but it was recalled to his recollection by attachés of the court. Then he put the young man through an examination as to what he had been doing in the probationary period and received satisfactory answers. "And what are you doing now?" he asked. "I'm trying to get into the army," was the answer. "Will they take you?" "I think so, but I told them I couldn't enlist until I'd seen you." "Well," said Judge Taft, "you show yourself to me here with Uncle Sam's uniform on and you needn't come after that." The boy enlisted and his sentence was remitted.

A LABOR LEADER'S CONFIDENCE IN THE JUDGE WHO HAD JAILED HIM.

It was Taft who rendered the first opinion upholding the validity of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, and it was Taft who sent a labor leader to jail for contempt in interfering with the operation of a railroad then in the hands of the court over which Taft presided. The man whom he jailed was Frank Phelan, a lieutenant of Eugene Debs in the American Railway Union. There were murmurs in Cincinnati that Judge Taft would not leave the bench alive if he sent Phelan to jail. Members of the order to which Phelan belonged crowded the courtroom with identifying badges conspicuously displayed. Judge Taft read his opinion in the case and ordered that Phelan be confined in jail for six months. Then he stepped from the rostrum and went to his private room. There was not the slightest sign of trepidation in his manner or a hesitating note in his voice as he delivered his judgment.

Months after, Phelan, released from jail, went to Ludlow, a suburb of Cincinnati, where most of the railroad men who had gone on strike at his command resided. The agitator who had counseled violence of a radical kind was touched by the suffering among the families of the strikers, many of them still out of employment. Phelan wanted to help them, and curiously enough the man to whom he applied for advice and assistance was Judge Taft. He called at the judge's office in company with another man and was received without any delay. "Hello! Phelan," said Judge Taft, "what can I do for you?" A gentleman who was present on that occasion vouches for the statement that Phelan explained his business in words somewhat to this effect: "Judge, I came to tell you that I never realized what great suffering I would create until I went to Ludlow this morning. I'm willing to serve another six months or a year if you'll help me to get work for these men. All those who went out on strike and who testified that they went out through sympathy only, told an untruth, and so did I, for I was sent here by Debs to take these men out as I saw fit."

But strongly as his sympathy was aroused by what Phelan said, Judge Taft held that it would be improper for him to make any suggestion to the railroad company to give employment to its former employees. "I can't tell the railroad people how to run their business," he said. This incident is told merely to show the wonderful human sympathy which Taft possesses and which he makes people understand. Phelan, in spite of the scoring and the punishment he had received from Taft, felt that he would find the stern judge a kind friend, and his reception proved that he was not mistaken. Taft never bears malice. He is as willing to forget as he is to forgive when satisfied that a fault which he condemned has been honestly atoned for.

Long years of work on the bench did not produce in him the idea that he is not as other men. There is no false dignity about him. Off the bench he was as jovial as could be. While on the bench he maintained a dignity that was impressive, but not repellent. Whatever he does, he does as part of the day's work, not hampered by any ideas of his greatness. He is too busy to think about his own personality.

THE LABOR DECISIONS OF JUDGE TAFT.

BY FREDERICK N. JUDSON.

THE present Secretary of War, Hon. William Howard Taft, has had the exceptional experience of beginning his distinguished public career with judicial service on the State and thereafter serving on the federal bench. He was justice of the Superior Court of Cincinnati from 1887 to 1890, and among his immediate predecessors in that court were Hon. Judson Harmon, ex-Attorney-General of the United States; Hon. Joseph B. Foraker, ex-Governor and now United States Senator. After some two years' service as Solicitor-General, under President Harrison, Mr. Taft was appointed judge of the Circuit Court of the United States, holding that position until 1900, when he resigned to accept the appointment of Governor of the Philippines.

It has been intimated from time to time, though not very definitely, that certain decisions of Judge Taft while on the bench were unfriendly to organized labor. Such a suggestion, analyzed in view of the position of the judiciary in our political and judicial system, is really an imputation upon the intelligence of the electorate. A judge does not make the law, nor does he decide cases according to his private judgment of what the law ought to be; but he declares and applies the rules of law to the facts presented as he finds them in the statutes or adjudged precedents, the recorded depositories of the law.

It is true that our unwritten and non-statutory law has been termed judge-made law. But it is only in a very limited sense, if at all, that this expression is applicable to the case of an individual judge. His personality may be impressed upon the development of the law, as that of Judge Taft was doubtless impressed, by the clearness of his grasp of the fundamental principles of the law in their application to new conditions; but his opinions must be in harmony with the current trend of judicial authority, and, in the last analysis, with the advance of an enlightened public opinion. We have had frequent instances in this country where judges, after leaving the bench, have become candidates for public office, but very rarely have the judicial decisions of a judge ever been discussed with reference to his availability

for a public office. The reason is obvious. The high intelligence of our American electorate recognizes that the judges do not speak their individual judgments, but, in the words of Blackstone, "are the living oracles of the law," who declare and apply the laws of the land.

It is to be assumed, therefore, that Judge Taft decided cases involving the rights and duties of labor and capital, as he decided other cases which came before him, according to the law and facts as presented for determination. It has not been intimated that he did not declare the law correctly, or that his decisions were bad law in any legal sense. What, therefore, is really meant by the suggestion is that the *law* as declared in certain decisions of Judge Taft was unsatisfactory to certain class interests. While this impersonal position of a judge is clearly recognized, there is so much public interest in questions relating to the legal rights and duties of combinations, both of capital and labor, that the decisions of Judge Taft in this class of cases should be clearly understood, and therefore will be briefly reviewed from a legal and not from a partisan point of view.

MOORES VS. BRICKLAYERS' UNION ET AL.

The first of these opinions was delivered by Judge Taft while on the Superior Court bench of Cincinnati, in 1890, in the case of *Moores vs. Bricklayers' Union et al.* (23 *Weekly Law Bulletin*, 48). This case is interesting as involving the application of the law to what is known as a secondary boycott, that is, a boycott not against an employer but against a third party dealing with an employer, who is a stranger to the controversy between the employer and employee.

This was not an injunction suit, nor did it involve any issue between the employees and their employer, either directly or through any refusal to handle in other places the so-called "struck work" from the shop of the employer. It was a secondary boycott pure and simple, in the form of a suit for damages incurred by the plaintiff through a boycott by the Bricklayers' Union, declared on account of the plaintiff's selling lime to the employer,

Parker Bros., who had been boycotted by the union. This primary boycott had been declared against Parker Bros. by the Bricklayers' Union because of their (Parker Bros.) refusal to pay a fine imposed upon one of their employees, a member of the union, and to reinstate a discharged apprentice.

Parker Bros. had brought suit and had recovered damages before a jury in another court against the same defendants on account of this same boycott (21 *Weekly Law Bulletin*, 223). Moore Bros., the plaintiffs, had been awarded \$2250 damages by the jury on account of this secondary boycott, and it was this judgment which was affirmed on appeal in an opinion by Judge Taft. This case has become a leading one on the law of boycotting. The right of legitimate competition in business with the incidental injuries resulting therefrom, as illustrated in the then recently decided *Mogul Steamship* case in England, was distinguished by Judge Taft from the case then at bar, where the immediate motive of injuring plaintiff was to inflict punishment for refusing to join in the boycott of a third party. Such a motive made the act malicious and legally actionable in the case of an individual and a *fortiori* in the case of a combination. It was said, after reviewing the English cases: "We do not conceive that in this State or country a combination by workmen to raise their wages or obtain any material advantage is contrary to the law, provided they do not use such indirect means as obscure their original intent, and make their combination one merely malicious, to oppress and injure individuals."

It was further said that a labor union could provide for and impose a penalty against any of their members who refused to comply with such regulations as the association made. They could unite in withdrawing from the employ of any person whose terms of employment might not be satisfactory to them, or whose action in regard to apprentices was not to their liking, but they could not coerce their employer by boycotting him and those who dealt with him; that even if acts of this character and with the intent are not actionable when done by individuals, they become so when they are the result of combination, because it is clear that the terrorizing of the community by threats of exclusive dealing in order to deprive one obnoxious member of means of sustenance would become both dangerous and offensive.

This decision, subsequently affirmed by the Supreme Court of Ohio without opinion, has been accepted as the correct exposition of the law, and the secondary boycott, so-called, that is, a boycott against a stranger to the trade dispute, has been practically discontinued and abandoned by intelligent labor unionists as an unwise and unreasonable weapon in such controversies.

TOLEDO AND ANN ARBOR ENGINEERS' STRIKE OF 1893.

The so-called labor decisions of Judge Taft while on the federal bench related directly and primarily to the federal character of such controversies, in that they involved the supremacy of the federal power in the protection of interstate commerce. Though there were only two such cases decided by him, the decisions attracted general attention on account of the widespread industrial disturbances of 1893-4.

The first of these cases was decided April 3, 1893, in the matter of the strike of the engineers on the Toledo and Ann Arbor Railroad (54 Fed. Rep., 730). The engineers on strike were members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, of which P. M. Arthur was the chief. Under the then rule of the brotherhood, known as rule twelve, the engineers in the employ of the connecting railroad companies, members of the brotherhood, refused to handle and deliver any cars of freight from complainant's road as long as the strike of the engineers of that road, who were members of the brotherhood, was unsettled. It is obvious that this involved practically a paralysis of the business of interstate commerce between the complainant and the defendant railroads. The Toledo road thereupon applied for an injunction against the connecting roads, alleging the existence of a combination violative of the Interstate Commerce act, preventing the performance of their duties in regard to interstate commerce in the exchange of traffic, and asked the court to enjoin this unlawful interference. A motion was filed by the complainant for a temporary injunction against Mr. Arthur to restrain him from enforcing rule twelve, whereunder the employees of the defendant companies were refusing to handle the cars of the complainant company.

The opinion of the court by Judge Taft was notable in its clear exposition of the power of a court of equity in the issuance of a mandatory preliminary injunction where

necessary to prevent irreparable injury. "The normal condition," it was said,—“the *status quo*,—between connecting common carriers under the Interstate Commerce law is a continuous passage of freight backward and forward between them, which each carrier has a right to enjoy without interruption, exactly as riparian owners have a right to the continuous flow of the stream without obstruction.” Usually the *status quo* in the injunction can be preserved until final hearing by an injunction prohibitory in form, but where the *status quo* is not a condition of rest, but of action, the condition of rest, that is, the stoppage of traffic, will inflict irreparable injury not only upon the complainant but the public. In such cases it is only a mandatory injunction compelling the traffic to flow as it is wont to flow, which will protect the complainant from injury. The form of the remedy must be adapted to the emergency, and where the continuity of interstate traffic is threatened an injunction mandatory in term is often the only effective remedy.

Still more important was the opinion in its clear analysis of the position of employees of railroads engaged in interstate traffic, and their rights and duties as such employees under the Interstate Commerce act. The relation of such employees to their railroad companies is one of free contract, and is not analogous to that of seamen in the maritime service, who, to a certain extent, surrender their liberty in their employment and are punishable for desertion. The employment, therefore, in the case of railroad employees, was terminable by either party. The court could not compel the enforcement of personal service as against either the employer or the employed against the will of either. The court said especially was this true in the case of railroad engineers, where nothing but the most painstaking and devoted attention on the part of the employed will secure a proper discharge of his responsible duties; and it would even seem to be against public policy to expose the lives of the traveling public and the property of the shipping public to the danger which might arise from the enforced and unwilling performance of so delicate a service. While a court of equity could not specifically compel the performance of a contract for personal service, it did not follow that there were no limitations upon the right of employees to abandon their employment,—that is, as to the time and place of the exercise of such right (see remarks of Supreme

Court in *Lemon case*, 166 U. S.), so as to avoid imperiling life or property.

Though the relation of railroad employer and employed was one of free contract, the court also held that while the relation continues they were bound to obey the statute compelling the interchange of interstate traffic, and also bound by the orders of the court enjoining their employer corporation from refusing such interchange. A combination of the employees to refuse, while still holding their positions, to perform any of the duties enjoined by law or by the court upon their employer, would be a conspiracy against the United States and punishable as such.

The court therefore held that the mandatory injunction was properly issued against Arthur, compelling him to rescind the order to the engineers in the employ of the defendant directing them not to handle complainant's freight.

The engineers of the defendant companies had no grievances against their own employing companies; and their refusal to handle freight of complainant company was in no sense a strike for the betterment of their own conditions of service, and was therefore not a strike but a boycott, and this would necessarily paralyze the movement of interstate traffic.

The effect of this decision was far-reaching. It was the first judicial declaration of the duties of railroad employees in interstate commerce. It was followed in other circuits and was not only approved by the general public, but was accepted by the railroad brotherhoods as a fair statement of the law under the peculiar conditions of the railroad service. The result was the abrogation of rule twelve by the brotherhood of the engineers, and since that time, as was signally shown in the extensive railroad strike of the following year, the railroad brotherhoods, not only the engineers, but the conductors, firemen, and trainmen, have been conspicuous for their conservatism in the adjustment of differences with the management of their respective companies.

THE PHELAN CONTEMPT CASE.

In the following year, 1894, came the great railroad strike inspired by the American Railway Union, growing out of the strike of the Pullman employees at Pullman, Ill. The officials of the union demanded all the railroads to boycott the Pullman cars, and declared a strike of the employees on any

railroad on their refusal to declare such a boycott. The Cincinnati Southern, an interstate railway, was in the hands of a receiver, who had been theretofore appointed by the United States Court of Ohio, and the receiver applied to the court for protection against one Phelan, an official of the American Union, who was engaged in inciting a strike among the employees of the railroad. There was no complaint by the employees of this road, as there had been none by the employees in the Arthur case, for the betterment of their condition of service. The demand was that all traffic should be suspended and business paralyzed until all the roads should consent not to carry Pullman cars. In the words of the court, the purpose was to starve the railroad companies and the public into compelling the Pullman Company to do something which they had no lawful right to compel it to do.

It seems that a restraining order had been issued by the court prohibiting any interference with the management of the receiver in the operation of the road, and Phelan had used language defying this order. He was thereupon attached for contempt, and after a hearing was adjudged guilty of contempt in an opinion by Judge Taft (62 Fed. Rep., 803). The opinion emphasized the same distinction which had been pointed out in the Arthur case in the preceding year. The employees had the right to quit their employment, but they had no right to combine to injure their employer, in order to compel him to withdraw from a mutually profitable relation with a third party for the purpose of injuring the third party, when the relation thus sought to be broken had no effect whatever upon the character or reward of their services. As the purpose of the combination was to tie up interstate railroads, not as an incidental result of a lawful strike for the betterment of the employees' own conditions, but as a means of injuring a third party, it was an unlawful combination, violative of the anti-trust act of 1890. It was also a direct interference with interstate commerce.

Thus, if Phelan had come to Cincinnati and had urged a strike for higher wages, or to prevent lowering of wages, he would not have been liable for contempt, but he had no right to incite the men to quit, when they had no grievances of their own to redress, as it was then essentially a boycott and not a strike.

It was in this Phelan case that Judge Taft,

in determining the limits of the rights of labor organizations, made this lucid and notable statement of the extent of their rights, which has been frequently quoted:

The employees of the receiver had the right to organize into or join a labor union which would take action as to the terms of their employment. It is a benefit to them and to the public that laborers should unite for their common interest and for lawful purposes. They have labor to sell. If they stand together they are often able, all of them, to obtain better prices for their labor than dealing singly with rich employers, because the necessities of the single employee may compel him to accept any price that is offered. The accumulation of a fund for those who feel that the wages offered are below the legitimate market value of such labor is desirable. They have the right to appoint officers, who shall advise them as to the course to be taken in relations with their employers. They may unite with other unions. The officers they appoint, or any other person they choose to listen to, may advise them as to the proper course to be taken, both in regard to their common employment; or if they choose to appoint any one, he may order them on pain of expulsion from the union peaceably to leave the employ of their employer because any of the terms of the employment are unsatisfactory.

This declaration of the right of organization and representation of labor unions has been often cited and quoted in support of the unions, and was applied, as will be seen, most effectively in their behalf in the Wabash strike of 1903.

The jurisdiction of the United States courts in the protection of interstate commerce, and the supremacy of the federal power in such questions, were thereafter fully sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States (see *in re Debs* case, 158 U. S., 564; also *in re Lemon*, 166 U. S. 548).

The reason of the prompt acceptance of this application of the law by Judge Taft was the universal recognition that a boycott by railroad employees in interstate commerce, as distinguished from a strike, was impracticable and inadmissible, in view of the paramount public interest concerned. It is true that in ordinary trade disputes the public convenience and even the public necessities are not always given the weight they should have. But wherever interstate or foreign commerce are involved the public interest is made paramount by the laws of the United States. All classes of the community, workmen as well as capitalists, are interested in the prompt transmission of the mails and in the uninterrupted passage of person and freight. This principle of the protection of commerce against interruption

has become firmly intrenched in our jurisprudence. Under the law declared in these cases, our commerce is subject to be interrupted only by the incidental injury resulting from cessation of service, and not by boycotts or sympathetic strikes not related to the bettering of the conditions of the employees' service. That this principle is firmly established is primarily owing to the clear and courageous enunciation of the law by Judge Taft.

THE ADDYSTON PIPE & STEEL COMPANY CASE.

The same principle of the freedom of interstate commerce from illegal restraint declared in the *Arthur and Phelan* cases was also held by Judge Taft to apply to a business combination, or a "trust," in the *Addyston Pipe & Steel Company* case (85 Fed. Rep., 271). In this case there was an allotment of territory, comprising a large part of the United States, among a number of companies engaged in the manufacture of iron pipes, and in that territory competition was eliminated through this allotment of territory, and through a system of pretended bidding, giving an appearance of competition, at public lettings, when in fact there was no competition. The decision of the Court of Appeals, rendered by Judge Taft, was afterward affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States. His opinion is a notable contribution to the law, in its masterly analysis of the essential distinction between the legitimate contracts in restraint of trade, which are merely ancillary, or incidental, to some lawful contract, and necessary to protect the enjoyment of the legitimate fruits of that contract, and the agreements where the sole object is a direct restraint of competition, and to enhance and maintain prices. These latter agreements are unenforceable at common law, and are violative of the anti-trust act when made with reference to interstate commerce.

The distinction here so clearly pointed out has been the basis of the construction of the anti-trust act by the United States Supreme Court in all its subsequent decisions.

JUDGE TAFT'S OPINION SUPPORTS THE UNIONS IN WABASH STRIKE CASE.

The words of Judge Taft in the *Phelan* case quoted above, setting forth the rights of labor organizations under the law, were directly invoked and applied on behalf of the labor unions in a notable case, that of the threatened strike on the Wabash Rail-

road by the Brotherhoods of Railroad Trainmen and Firemen in 1903 (121 Fed. Rep., 563). In this case, the representatives of these two brotherhoods, after failing to secure the advance of wages and betterment of conditions demanded by the brotherhoods, had been forced to call a strike as their last resort, and thereupon an injunction was filed by the railroad company, in the United States Circuit Court in St. Louis, against the officers of these brotherhoods, enjoining them from calling a strike on the Wabash, as an interstate railroad, on the ground, among others, that the officials of the brotherhoods were not employees of the railroad, and that their action in combining in calling a strike would be a direct interference with interstate commerce, and was therefore an unlawful conspiracy.

The rights of organization and the rights of representation, as set forth by Judge Taft, were thus directly involved. The writer represented those brotherhoods in the hearing on the motion to dissolve the injunction granted in this case, and used the above quoted statement of Judge Taft as the most lucid and effective defense of the action of the brotherhoods and their officials. The Court (Judge Adams) found from the evidence that there was an existing dispute about the conditions of service on the railroad, and that the officials of the brotherhoods had been directed by the members of the brotherhoods to call a strike; that they had a right to be represented in such matters by their own officials, and that the two unions had a right to act in unison in their effort to secure the betterment of the conditions of their members, that an agreement to strike under those circumstances was not an unlawful conspiracy, and the injunction was thereupon dissolved. It was said in the opinion that on the subject of the organization of labor, and the right of labor unions, no one had spoken more clearly and acceptably than Judge Taft, in this language above quoted. (After the dissolution of the injunction, the differences between the railroad and its employees were amicably adjusted, and the threatened strike was averted.)

Thus, while the law was declared by Judge Taft as to the limitations upon the lawful action of labor unions, the essential principles involved in the right of organization were also announced by him in the same opinion. This right of organization of workmen in the unions would be futile without the right of representation by their own offi-

cial in the effort to secure the betterment of their conditions. The remedies adopted by workingmen, sometimes mistaken remedies for the enforcement of their rights, such as the closed shop and the boycott, are only weapons for the enforcement of the fundamental right of collective bargaining for the common benefit. There is no foundation, therefore, for the suggestion that the decisions of Judge Taft were in any sense unfriendly to labor, and it is clear that through his lucid declarations of the rights of labor the railroad brotherhoods secured the judicial vindication of their right of combination and of representation in their demands for the betterment of their conditions.

While these important decisions were rendered by Judge Taft, declaring the freedom of interstate commerce from illegal combination both of labor and capital, the limitations upon the rights of organized labor, as well as the essential principles involved in the right of organization for the betterment of their conditions, it would be an imputation upon the brilliant judicial record of Judge Taft to suggest that in any of these opinions he declared the law as a friend of any class, or that he made any judicial utterance in any of the cases otherwise than as a living oracle of the law, bound to declare, in every case brought before him, not his own private judgment, but the judgment of the law.

THE LEGISLATURES AND THE RAILROADS.

BY ROBERT EMMETT IRETON.

There must be just and reasonable regulation of rates, but any arbitrary and unthinking movement to cut them down may be equivalent to putting a complete stop to the effort to provide better transportation.—*President Roosevelt.*

WHEN the President of the United States thus admonished the nation at large in his address at Indianapolis on Memorial Day, it is obvious that he had in mind the anti-railroad crusades in the several States during last winter. Never in the history of railroad legislation have our transportation systems run counter to a campaign so comprehensive, widespread, and disturbing as the general trend of "regulation" in almost every State Legislature in session during 1907. It seems as if a legislative tempest against the railroads had been unloosed simultaneously in more than thirty States upon a given signal. The welcome accorded it by our lawmakers is inexplicable, unless we are prepared to admit that our Government, as has been charged frequently, is one of impulse. On this hypothesis it is readily understood.

Thirty-five States, in all, attempted to enact laws reducing freight or passenger rates, establishing railroad commissions, increasing the powers of existing commissions, regulating car service, demurrage, safety appliances, block signals, free passes, capitalization, liability for accidents to employees, hours of labor, blacklisting, strikes, etc. Scarcely a department or single activity in railroading was overlooked. Not all proved

successful; but a sufficient number of new measures found their way into our various State statutes to assure us that our lawmakers were engrossed with the railroad problem, and, further, that they intended to teach their victims and, incidentally, certain critics, what adequate State control meant. In quantity, at least, their output is commendable.

Certain causes undoubtedly contributed to this harvest of restrictive legislation not inseparable from the railroads themselves. For years it had been their custom to grant rebates to favored shippers and to discriminate against persons and localities. Convictions under the Elkins act for such offenses were rare until President Roosevelt bestirred himself. Then they came thick and fast. The people and the press learned more of railroad iniquity and double-dealing in two years than either had previously known in a generation. Investigations into the affairs of certain prominent railroad systems were followed by convictions and heavy fines, and finally by a federal law enlarging the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Shocking revelations of graft among the employees of a railroad supposed to be above suspicion, disclosed about a year ago, and shameful discrimination in car service, further heightened the indignation of the people against the methods prevalent in general railroad administration.

Popular discussion added to this state of public feeling, and this was intensified by

the freight-car shortage of last year. To make matters worse, an affrighting series of accidents, with appalling fatalities, seemed to clinch the case against the railroads and add to their delinquencies that of criminal negligence. Thus, at the beginning of 1907, the people had weighed the railroads and found them (1) wanting in obedience to law and fair dealing, (2) unable to handle the country's business, (3) tainted with dishonesty and graft, and (4) grossly indifferent to the safety and security of passengers.

Resentment was kindled to a white heat at this time and restrictive measures were proposed. But the hour of reprisal had not yet come, and the patience of the people, everything considered, was more than the railroads had any right to expect. Indeed, it was almost ultra-human. Reason still prevailed; but other forces were to triumph and to threaten with a consuming wrath the railroads' prosperity. Convicted at the bar of public opinion of dishonesty, incompetence, and negligence in its physical administration, it only remained to bring home to the transportation system the suspicion of unfairness in its financial transactions.

Last February the Interstate Commerce Commission gave the people an insight into the devious methods of modern railroad finance, by which a few financial manipulators, through an adroit readjustment of the securities of a certain railroad, using another road as a speculating machine, profited to the extent of millions of dollars at the expense of the public. Convinced through this disclosure that the railroads were morally oblique and lost to all sense of common honesty and decency, the disheartened and disgusted conservatives were powerless to avert the radical crusade that followed. To the charges against the railroads, that of "public plunderer" was added, and the work of retaliation and reprisal started, under the sage direction of ambitious politicians, doubtless, who never miss an opportunity to corral a majority. Local conditions and a rankling hostility for the discontinuance of free passes to legislators are additional links in the chain of circumstances responsible for this era of "regulation."

The railroads had sown the wind and now they are reaping a whirlwind of adversity, distress, and embarrassment. While they have brought it upon themselves in great degree, the severity and thoughtlessness of this campaign are not beyond the

pale of criticism. The movement was too sweeping, and altogether too sudden, to admit of opportunity for that economic consideration and debate which the vital importance of the transportation problem, and its myriad inter-relations, demanded. With very few exceptions, the attitude of the legislators responsible for reduced railroad rates seemed to spring from a desire to legislate first and reason later. To enact a law that would cripple the railroads and leave to the latter the task and cost of its judicial interpretation seems to have been an ideal performance of duty. This, of course, is indefensible.

WRONGS TO INVESTORS.

Uniformity was sought without discrimination or foresight. Railroads in densely populated districts and those in sparsely settled rural localities were given alike a two-cent rate. Worse than this: roads of different earning power in the same State were assigned a level rate. The prosperous and well-established road and the struggling pioneer were bracketed,—to sink or swim. Equality is equity, but it looks like confiscation in such cases. Those who have invested in properties thus affected and menaced have a right to redress under the constitutional guaranty of due process of law for such an attempted deprivation. To the public, likewise, is this a hindrance and a wrong. Tending to discourage investment, it arrests railroad development, when the same is urgently needed in view of our expanding commerce and industry, while it clogs industrial progress by stifling individual initiative. No considerate and advised approach was made by the lawmakers, and, doubtless, much of their work will be nullified by the courts, leaving as its net result a damaged railroad credit.

REAL PROGRESS IN SOME OF THE STATES.

But all of their work was not wasted. Real constructive legislation was enacted in many States in regard to corporate control, safety appliances, block signals, working hours, rights of employees, railroad mergers, valuation, capitalization, publication of rate schedules, etc., while in the States of South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, and Wisconsin the rate question was given fair and temperate consideration. In South Carolina the Senate negatived a bill for a two-and-one-half-cent rate, and instead of assuming the guilt of the railroads, appointed a committee to investigate discriminations.

South Dakota authorized its commission to establish a maximum passenger rate of two and one-half cents a mile, and, in addition, instructed it to ascertain the actual cash value of railroad property in the State on which to base equitable rates. Pending this ascertainment, it is not expected that the commission will enforce a reduction.

LEGISLATURE VERSUS COMMISSION.

Tennessee refused to pass a bill reducing passenger fares, because there was no public demand therefor, and, further, "in view of the fact that the railroads in Tennessee were not earning from their passenger traffic, in proportion to the trains run, as much as the average in the United States." Wisconsin's action is contradictory. When the commission ordered the roads to adopt a two-and-one-half-cent fare the latter acquiesced. An attempt to enact a flat two-cent rate passed the House, but was defeated in the Senate on June 14 by a vote of 21 to 6. On July 11, however, a two-cent fare bill was adopted by the Senate by a vote of 9 to 8, Lieutenant-Governor Connor casting the deciding ballot. Having been approved by the Governor this measure will become effective on August 15. At this writing there is much dissatisfaction expressed over the Senate's action. In the opinion of the railroad commission a two-and-one-half-cent rate is the lowest the passenger traffic will bear. A comprehensive Public-Service law was enacted in this State and is described elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS by Professor Commons.

Arizona, Florida, and Maine had measures before their legislatures to reduce passenger rates, but the same were not successful. Texas had almost one hundred railroad bills presented for its consideration, and one was a measure to reduce passenger charges. It failed to pass, but may become a law at a special session. New York adopted a two-cent bill, but it succumbed to the Governor's veto. A Public-Utilities bill, promoted by Governor Hughes, generally regarded as the most comprehensive and far-reaching measure for corporate regulation ever adopted in any State, became a law. Kentucky, Louisiana, and Maryland had no legislative sessions; and California, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Rhode Island, Utah, and Wyoming gave little or no consideration to restrictive railroad legislation during the recent sessions. In those States no hostility to the railroads was

shown, save that in Massachusetts a resolution was adopted calling for an investigation into railroad passenger fares, with a view to their uniformity and equalization. The report must be submitted to the next General Court on or before January 15, 1908, and some steps may then be taken.

California's action shines in marked contrast with most of her sister States. The Sacramento lawmakers passed a law which reads: "*Every railroad corporation has power to regulate the time and manner in which passengers and property shall be transported, and the tolls and compensation to be paid therefor, within the limits prescribed by law and subject to alteration by the Legislature. To regulate the force and speed of their locomotives, cars, * * * and to establish, execute, and enforce all needful and proper rules and regulations for the management of its business transactions usual and proper for railroad corporations.*" This generosity must have prostrated the railroads!

LOWER FARES IN TWENTY-ONE STATES.

An analysis of the general results shows that passenger fares were either actually reduced or affected in twenty-one States: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. Two-cent rates now prevail in Arkansas, Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin; and in Ohio, since 1906; two-and-one-half-cent rates in Alabama and North Dakota. North Carolina has established a two-and-one-quarter-cent rate; West Virginia, a two-cent rate for railroads over fifty miles in length; Iowa, a sliding scale of from two to three cents per mile; Michigan, a two, three, and four-cent rate; Kansas, Maryland, and Mississippi, two-cent rates for mileage books; the railroad commissions of Georgia and South Dakota have been authorized to establish a two-cent and a two-and-one-half-cent rate, respectively; and Oklahoma specifies in its new constitution a maximum charge of two cents for passenger fare. Virginia's Corporation Commission has adopted a two-cent rate for trunk lines, a three-cent rate for minor roads, and a three-and-one-half-cent rate on one or two lines. Kansas may adopt a flat two-cent rate on the supposition that what is remunerative in Nebraska should prove equally remunerative in

Kansas! Georgia's Legislature is in session as we go to press.

OTHER NEW LEGISLATION.

Freight charges were lowered in many States. The Commodity Freight Rate law of Minnesota is probably the most scientific and equitable, and is being used by many Western roads as a basis. Commissions in other States have adopted it as a model.

Laws prohibiting free passes were enacted in Alabama, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, and Texas.

Eleven States created railroad commissions: Colorado, Indiana, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and Vermont. Sixteen others gave increased power to existing commissions, apart from rate regulation: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Carolina, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin.

Montana's new commission held its first meeting at Helena on July 10, and declared the freight and passenger rates now in force to be the maximum rates hereafter to be charged, with the exception of a coal rate on the Great Northern and a lumber rate on the Northern Pacific, which will be fixed by agreement after consultation with the roads.

RESULTANT LITIGATION.

Suits have been instituted to test the legislation recently adopted in Alabama, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. The railroads in Arkansas, Kansas, Michigan, and Wisconsin are giving the new rates a trial; similarly, in Illinois, for ninety days, after which suit will be filed if the laws are confiscatory.

In Missouri the State and federal courts became involved and by agreement the two-

cent law went into operation for ninety days from June 19. After its practical results are known the federal court will pass on its constitutionality. A similar conflict between State and federal authority has been precipitated in Nebraska by the filing of counter suits; while in North Carolina, Judge Pritchard, in the United States Circuit Court at Asheville, has enjoined the enforcement of the new laws on evidence presented by the railroads, and has ruled that the latter had established a *prima facie* case of attempted confiscation. The State Railroad Commissioners have been called upon to rebut the same, and evidence is now being taken by a special master in chancery.

Following this action in the federal court, a State jurist has instructed the grand jury at Raleigh to indict every violator of the new law, holding that only the State appellate courts could assume jurisdiction in appeals on State indictments, in the first instance, and that federal injunctions did not run against such process. The press of North Carolina is insistent on the enforcement of this law by State officials, despite the action of the federal court, and its status is decidedly complicated and uncertain.

That the railroads will fight some of these laws to the end is a foregone conclusion. Probably the chief battles will be waged in Missouri, Minnesota, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania. If successful in their efforts therein, in all likelihood suits will be pressed in every other State in which these laws are being enforced. On the wisdom of their course much depends. Before carrying the fight too far the carriers should bear in mind its possible aftermath, and the action of the railroads in Ohio, Wisconsin, and Arkansas, in accepting the reduced rate laws, is important in this connection. The movement for railroad regulation and control,—whether inspired by resentment or reason,—is everywhere manifest and determined, and seems to have the backing of the American people. Recession is no part of their present programme.

THE WISCONSIN PUBLIC-UTILITIES LAW.

BY JOHN R. COMMONS.

(Professor of Political Economy in the University of Wisconsin.)

TWO States in 1907, New York and Wisconsin, enacted laws to regulate public utilities. The contest in New York was spectacular and attracted national attention, because the law was drafted under the direction of the Governor and forced through a reluctant Legislature without amendment. The law in Wisconsin was the product of prolonged legislative deliberation. This was possible because the period of contest over the control of corporations had culminated two years before in the movement led by Governor La Follette. As a result of that contest the Legislature of 1907 was the first one elected under the direct-primary system of nominations without the intervention of party conventions, and it would have been difficult to find a half-dozen members who took orders from anybody.

Another result of that contest was the Railroad law of 1905, which had established the principle of regulation through a commission appointed by the Governor and had worked out the procedure and authority of that commission. This law was described by the present writer in the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* for July, 1905. What remained for the Legislature of 1907 was simply to bring all other public utilities under the same commission and to deal with the questions of franchises and the relation of municipal governments to the State commission. This was facilitated by the fact that the existing commission, appointed two years before by Governor La Follette, had the confidence of all parties and interests on account of the ability and moderation of its members. This had been shown especially in their decision, after thorough investigation, placing passenger fares at 2½ cents at the time when other States without investigation placed them at 2 cents. The Wisconsin and New York laws are alike in that both State utilities like railroads and municipal utilities like gas are brought under the regulation of the same commission. They differ from the laws of Massachusetts, which provide a separate commission for railroads. These three States, however, are the only ones that regulate municipal utilities through a State commis-

sion. Many other States have railroad commissions, but they leave whatever regulation they have of local utilities to the local governments.

Another condition that made possible the Wisconsin law of 1907 was the Legislative Reference Department at Madison, with its staff of lawyers, investigators, and statisticians, and its ability to lay before the lawmakers the experience of other States and countries and the advice of experts.

The Public-Utilities bill was introduced three times by the Assembly Committee on Transportation during the six months' session of the Legislature of 1907,—first as a rough skeleton, next as a comprehensive bill, and last as a completed law. After each introduction extended hearings were held by the joint committee of the two houses. The public-utility corporations, through their State associations, appointed committees whose members attended the hearings and were enrolled as lobbyists, as required by law. The cities of Milwaukee and Madison were represented by their city attorneys, and one member of the joint committee, Senator Lockney, was also city attorney of Waukesha. The detailed work of the joint committee was conducted by Senator George B. Hudnall and Assemblyman C. F. Stout.

The law as finally adopted consists really of three laws: First, an amendment to the Railroad law of 1905, placing telegraph companies and street railways under the same provisions as steam railways and interurban electric lines; second, the Public-Utilities law proper, regulating heat, light, water, power, and telephone companies; third, a Street-Railway law providing for indeterminate permits similar to those of the Public-Utilities law. A fourth bill, requiring physical connection and prohibiting duplication of telephone exchanges, was defeated by a vote of the Assembly. By separating the measure into four bills the committee was able to allow for differences in the treatment of different utilities and to prevent the opposition of one class of utilities from defeating the measure as a whole. The wisdom of this procedure was shown in the defeat of the fourth bill.

THE FIRST STEP,—PHYSICAL VALUATION.

A significant feature of the Wisconsin legislation is its disregard of stocks and bonds and its reliance on the physical valuation of the property as the first step in regulation. The New York law and the Street-Railway law of Massachusetts attack the problem of regulation through the control of future capitalization. The New York commissions have power to prohibit the issue and transfer of stocks, bonds, and other evidence of indebtedness, and to prevent the transfer of shares to holding companies. The Wisconsin law begins at the other end of the problem and, for the purpose both of regulation and of publicity, inquires into the present structural value of the property. This does not mean that the commission shall disregard other elements of valuation,—in fact, it is required by the law to take all elements into account, as indeed the courts would require if it did not. But the physical valuation is necessary in order that the public and the courts may know exactly how much is allowed for the other elements. The commission is required to value all of the properties in the State and to publish both the actual value ascertained when all elements are taken into account and the physical value ascertained by its engineers. The principle had been adopted in the Railroad law of 1905 and it required no argument to adopt it in the Public-Utilities act.

In this respect the law goes beyond any existing law and carries the idea of publicity to its logical conclusion. Accompanied by a complete system of uniform accounting with special precaution as to depreciation and construction accounts, every person in the State may know at the end of each fiscal year exactly the rate of profit which each company or municipality has made on its actual property invested. This is a protection both to the corporation and to the public. Nearly every State commission created in other States to regulate corporations has sooner or later fallen under the control of the corporations supposed to be regulated. The reason appears to lie mainly in the fact that essential elements of publicity have not been required. The commissions have been able to hide behind closed doors. Even with the power to control the issues of stocks and bonds the commission cannot go behind the existing capitalization, but can control only the future issues for extensions and improvements. The public is not informed of the true cost of the

property represented by the capitalization. But with the Wisconsin idea of physical valuation as the starting point, every citizen can determine for himself just as well as the commission whether the rates and fares charged by the corporations are yielding an excessive profit. Publicity of this kind will force the commission to act and to reduce the rates if profits are excessive, or to vindicate the corporations if the profits are reasonable.

It is this feature of the law which nullified the argument of the Social-Democrats and some Democrats that the municipalities instead of the State commission should be given the power to regulate rates and charges. Conceding, as they did, that a State commission should ascertain the values and regulate the accounts in order to have uniformity, it makes practically no difference whether the municipal council or the State commission regulates the rates. Neither one could reduce the rates below a fair profit as decided by the courts, and either one would be forced by public opinion and political agitation to reduce excessive rates to fair rates. With the additional fact that the municipality is one of the parties in interest, the conclusion necessarily follows that the regulation of rates should be left to the State commission. The municipal council as well as associations of citizens are given full power to require the State commission to investigate and act.

SECURING UNIFORMITY OF ACCOUNTS.

A further element of publicity is the comparative analysis of accounts for all public utilities reduced to the standard unit of product. In this respect the law is an advance on any legislation in this or other countries. The commission is required to publish in its annual reports these comparative statistical tables, and this will do for all public utilities what in England is done for the gas undertakings by the private publications known as "Fields' Analysis" and the "Gas World Analyses of Accounts." The commission, however, has an advantage over private editorship, because it prescribes and supervises the accounts of the companies and municipalities so that the comparisons shall be absolutely uniform. By this provision the citizens of each locality will know all the items of cost and profit involved in furnishing each thousand feet of gas, or kilowatt of electricity, or thousand gallons of water, compared with the cost and profit in other localities. It is an interesting comment on the neglect of this essential method of publicity

by the Massachusetts Gas and Electric Light Commissioners that the recent law governing the Boston gas company requires that company to publish a similar analysis of accounts in one of the daily papers, but without the supervision of the commission. Such publication lacks verification and of course is not accompanied by comparisons with other companies. The Wisconsin law seeks to remedy both of these defects of the Massachusetts law and to carry out the idea of publicity so that every citizen can easily comprehend the accounts.

ENCOURAGING PRIVATE INITIATIVE.

The most serious objection to governmental rate regulation is its probable damaging effect on enterprise and initiative and on the investment of capital for extensions and improvements. If profits are excessive they are likely to be reduced without regard to whether they are the legitimate reward of enterprise or the illegitimate plunder of monopoly. The Wisconsin law attempts to meet this objection in various ways. It provides for the "sliding scale," profit-sharing, or other devices that may increase the profits on condition of reducing the prices. The commission is authorized to investigate and sanction such devices if reasonable. Herein the law is elastic enough to offer opportunity for ingenuity and experiments that may combine the principle of State regulation with that of private initiative. Certain private managers are already planning to come forward and to submit schemes for approval under this section of the law, and there is no reason why municipalities might not also introduce devices to reward municipal managers in proportion to reduction in costs.

The law also requires depreciation to be made good by means of the charges paid by consumers, and of course gives full credit for construction out of new capital. Physical valuation and public accounting make this provision definite and precise. Furthermore, the detailed comparative statistics of unit costs mentioned above enable managers to keep posted and to improve their own management wherever deficient. The commission will do for all properties what a trust does for its several properties,—hold each manager up to an exact comparison with every other manager. In this respect, both municipal and private ownership will gain. Finally, as a prod to enterprise, the law, after giving complete protection to capital legitimately invested, seeks to base its tenure on

good behavior. This is done through another feature of the law, the substitution of "indeterminate permits" for limited franchises.

THE INDETERMINATE PERMIT IN PLACE OF THE LIMITED FRANCHISE.

An indeterminate permit is defined as the right to continue in business until such time as the municipality exercises its option to purchase the property at a just compensation, determined by the State commission. Any corporation operating under an existing franchise is permitted to surrender it and to receive by operation of law an indeterminate permit, agreeing thereby to sell to the municipality as provided and to waive the right to insist on the fulfillment of any contracts regarding rates or services which might be set up as a defense against the orders of the State commission. The corporation gets in return protection against unnecessary competition, to be decided by the commission, on the part of either another corporation or a municipal plant. This does not apply to telegraph or telephone companies. The independent telephone interests, now operating nearly one-half of the telephones in the State, are permitted to go ahead and finish their State system of competition in all localities. The State and not the municipality in their case is looked upon as the unit. Had the Legislature proceeded to restrict further telephone competition it would have been compelled to order physical connection and interchange of business and joint rates between competing companies, and the objections to physical connection were so influential that the Legislature declined to order it.

The indeterminate permit is the logical outcome of rate regulation. This was shown by the curious manner in which it was adopted for street railways in the last days of the session. The Railroad law of 1905 was intended to include interurban electric lines, but they were defined as electric lines operating in more than one township or city. Inadvertently, perhaps, this brought nearly every street-car company under that law, because nearly all of them have suburban extensions. At any rate, the railroad commission assumed jurisdiction in the case of the Milwaukee street-car company and proceeded to make a physical valuation and to examine its accounts on petition sent in by the municipal council for better service and a 3-cent fare. In order, however, to make its position certain, the commission asked the

Legislature to amend the law either by adding street-cars or by striking out electric lines. Since the street-car companies made no objection the Legislature practically decided early in the session to add them by amendment to the Railroad law.

Meanwhile, in the Milwaukee case, it was known that the street-car company would set up the plea that, since its franchise expires in twenty-seven years, it is entitled to a sinking fund that will wipe out its capital of some \$30,000,000 at the end of that period. If this were allowed, as it probably would be, then a 5-cent fare would be necessary. Thereupon the city attorney of Milwaukee appeared before the committee and asked that the indeterminate permit of the Public-Utilities bill, applying only to light, heat, water, and power, be applied also to street railways. This would eliminate the sinking fund and make a 3-cent fare possible. Since the Public-Utilities bill was then on its final passage the committee decided simply to introduce a new bill composed of the sections relating to indeterminate permits adapted to street railways. In this way the Legislature, starting out on the platform of all political parties opposed to perpetual grants and favoring short-term franchises, ended by permitting all existing franchises to be extended indefinitely. The logic of rate regulation had exposed the fallacy of trying to protect the rights of the public by cutting off one of the main incentives of private enterprise.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

On the other hand, the Legislature sought to protect the rights of municipalities by enlarging their powers of purchase, ownership, and operation. A law enacted some years ago prohibiting the construction of a municipal plant in competition with a private company is repealed so far as existing franchises are concerned. Municipalities are given authority to construct, purchase, own, and operate utilities except telephones and street-cars. The companies agree, as a condition of the indeterminate permit, to sell their properties to the municipality at any time at "a just compensation" ascertained by the State commission. This feature of the law, as finally adopted, is problematical, because it is uncertain whether "a just compensation" may not include payment for franchise value. The phrase was proposed by the corporation lobbyists, who claimed that without it they could not induce capital to invest and could not therefore come

in under the indeterminate permit. Yet both they and the lawyers of the Legislature concluded that an indeterminate permit has no franchise value. Just compensation, however, as construed by the courts, may include other elements of excessive valuation which will make municipal purchase impracticable. The law, in fact, though providing for municipal ownership, is not a municipal-ownership measure. It is strictly a measure for the regulation of utilities, whether operated by municipalities or companies. The municipal-purchase feature is looked upon merely as asserting the principle that the corporations hold their positions on good behavior.

FULL CONTROL OF RATES AND CHARGES.

In the regulation of rates, fares, and charges the Wisconsin legislation marks an important advance on that of New York and other States in the fact that the commission fixes the rates absolutely and not merely the maximum rates. It is as much an offense for a corporation to charge less as it is to charge more than the rate set by the commission. This is designed to prevent discrimination, but the commission is required to make a comprehensive classification of services for each utility, in which it may take account of the quantity purchased, the time when used, and any other condition that reasonably justifies a difference in the rate per unit of service. Thus discriminations are authorized, but they must be open and reasonable and must be established only after public investigation.

By the enactment of this law the railroad commission becomes to the fullest extent a public-service commission. Every public utility in the State, except streets, highways, and bridges, is brought within its jurisdiction. It becomes also a local government board, for it regulates towns, villages, and cities in their management of these undertakings. Its authority is great and far-reaching. It employs experts and agents and fixes their compensation, and can draw on all of the unappropriated money in the State treasury. It enters into the daily life of the people more than all other agencies of government combined. This will become more evident as time goes on, for under its control is placed the development of the enormous water power of Wisconsin, which eventually, through electricity, will light the streets and houses and furnish motive power to operate railways, factories, and possibly even farms.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

GOVERNMENT BY IMPULSE.

POLITICAL orators exercise a mystic sway over most peoples, but the enchantment of the human voice is singularly complete 'over the average American audience. We love the thrills it calls forth, the impulses it radiates, and we love the orators because they make us enthusiastic. This fondness for the stimulant of declamation is a mild manifestation of our national psychology of impulse. We patronize disgusting yellow journals for the same reason, and ignore self-respecting newspapers. And, in a measure, this is true of art, of literature and of the drama. We carry our impulses to the polls and reward charlatans and demagogues with office. Consequently, we debar men of great executive ability from public office. We have created "parties" through impulse, and have conferred upon them the privilege of running a device known as the Government.

To assist us the better in this impulsive undertaking we have developed a complex party system, with party orthodoxy, traditions and tyrannies that play upon the entire gamut of human feelings. We control our parties through "politicians," who secure power through votes, and whose daily task is the invention of cunning devices for catching voters. Disraeli said that his country was governed by Parliament, not by logic; we can affirm that ours is governed by politicians, not by postulates. In our play to control the votes of the people we have two parts: the "organization," secret and sinister; and the "spectacular," composed of orators, handbills, and great headlines in party papers. Human impulses must be converted into political majorities, and, with the aid of the orator, the politician succeeds in so doing. This dual power is almost irresistible. If the voters stopped to reason, the "bosses" would starve; but, thanks to our impulsiveness, our reason is lulled and the politicians thrive. "In any case, whether convention or congress, legislature or council, the power of the dual forces is revealed," says Mr. Samuel P. Orth, in the July *Atlantic Monthly*. "You see the subtle strength of the boss intrenched behind the voters who have allowed themselves to be deceived by the noisy emissaries

of the machine,—voters who have been ruled by impulse, not by reason."

It was so in the days of the Federalists and Anti-Federalists, the primordial political parties in America. Washington was elected with practical unanimity, but with his election it ceased. Burr converted Tammany into a violent and vicious political machine, and in Philadelphia gentle Quakers partook of the general excitement that moved the punctilious Puritans of Boston. An abounding commercial prosperity following the War of 1812 brought a lull in the strife of national politics; but it could not last. Andrew Jackson appeared upon the scene and again there was turmoil. Indeed, the records of political struggles of earlier times reveal more discreditable outbreaks of impulse than what we experience to-day. Barriers to suffrage and office, property tests, religious tests, etc., were common in many States. It was all part of the politicians' game to stir human prejudices and passions, and the party slogans prove this. "Turn the rascals out!" which defeated Adams; "Fifty-four forty or fight!" which defied reason; "The re-annexation of Texas and the re-occupation of Oregon!" "Let well enough alone!" and "Stand pat!" of the present day, are illustrative.

Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Cass, Blaine, and Reed were all victims to national impulsiveness. Clay was defeated five times for the Presidency, three times at the polls and twice in convention, because of the follies and prejudices of the people. This sentimentalism and impulse enter the council chambers of the State and infest the legislative halls. Party rule does not cease with the election. A few cases are on record where personal judgment ruled in times of unusual public agitation,—such as Washington in averting war with England and refusing all solicitations for a military alliance with France, and Hayes' indorsement of specie payment resumptions. "Indeed," says Mr. Orth, "it is such sound and unbiased service as this that in the ultimate issue alone saves the Republic from a cataclysm of sentimentalism and impulse." Our lawmakers are too shortsighted. They interpret clamor for de-

mand, and if all the acts passed in frenzy, to please the people, were erased from the statutes our folios would shrink to octavos.

The legislative body lies nearest the voter, and is the least stable of our divisions of government. The executive office is less mobile, but election by the people makes it amenable to their impulses. The one division that represents conservative wisdom is the judiciary. It is the conserving force of the Union. When impulse and thoughtlessness sway the populace the judiciary remains amenable to reason. "Our Supreme Court is a unique and magnificent tribunal, and we can easily believe that it was conceived in a moment of inspiration, so that its unbiased wisdom might guide the destinies of the Republic." Our Government thus ranges all the intervals between impulse and reason, but we should

strive for a just subordination of one to the other. If universal liberty and suffrage lead to impulse and unreason it is but an incident in the glorious reality of self-government,—as sound as the common sense of all the people, and as weak as the prejudices and impulses of the masses.

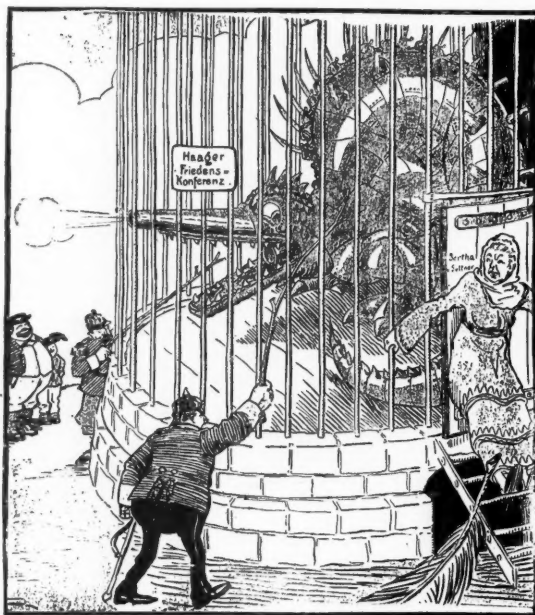
When the profound depths of human convictions are aroused the people do not err. Their ultimate judgment of right and wrong is sound. "To broaden the influence of reason in our plain Anglo-Saxon natures, to teach the virtue of moderation to abide with the virtue of courage, becomes the hard task of the patriotic citizen. Then the natural political propensities of the American people will become a noble rivalry of intelligent conviction, not a foolish and destructive warfare of blind partisanship."

IS UNIVERSAL PEACE POSSIBLE?

M. GABRIEL HANOTAUX, one of the French Academy Immortals, and so assure the peace of the world. Like others who have treated the same subject, M. Hanotaux confesses that there can be cited with his usual effectiveness the *pros* and *cons*

of the movement to bring about disarmament, and no specific arguments against a custom which has subsisted since the beginning of time, and that all deductions must hinge on a personal bias one way or the other. He also relates the opinion expressed by Bismarck to Crispi, to wit: "Disarmament is not possible, and even if armies were all reduced to an equal footing, the principle of inequality, in the matter of offensive or defensive power, or ability to strike, would still remain." Says M. Hanotaux:

All the world agrees that peace is desirable. Fighting has become less prevalent among human beings than it formerly was, and it remains to be seen whether legislation can do for nations what it did for common law and order. What the pacifists ask is peace organized and sanctioned,—almost, indeed, imposed,—as being the only course consistent with modern ideals of civilization and human progress. Ten years ago it was international arbitration that was in vogue, that constituted the all-sufficing remedy. It was found, however, that in arbitration, the question of the sanction applicable (*sancire*, to bind), was the most difficult thing to decide: how were the arbiters to impose their decisions and who was to decide



THE HAGUE CONFERENCE.

BERTHA VON SUTTNER: "Do not tease the beast! It will bite!" Germany and France are depicted as irritating the conference, while England and Italy look on in amusement.

From *Wahre Jacob* (Stuttgart).

as to the qualifications of the arbiters? At the Hague Conference of 1899 it was decided that the conscience of the nations was an appraisable quantity and that the conscience should be the guide. Some nations accepted the notion; others withdrew their adhesion. Nevertheless the Transvaal War and the Russo-Japanese War took place without the intervention of the conscience of the nations. Still the court of arbitration exists, but with nothing like its original potentiality.

M. Hanotaux is of the opinion that the pacificists, if they do not produce better and more effective results, are in a fair way to falling into universal derision. To bring a bevy of diplomatists together who shall deliver themselves of grandiloquent platitudes addressed to the goddess Irene, only to return to their capitals subsequently to commission their war ministers to increase their armaments, would be simply to invite the laughter of the human race upon the acts of the conference, and to make of the Peace Palace a colossal monument to pitiless mockery. At least let the deliberations aim at being specific; if laws are to be evolved, let the laws be explicitly stated. Says the academician:

Let us see what the problem of disarmament involves. According to the pacificists they include diminution of public and private expenses,

abolition of the ruinous and illogical system of armed peace and, of course, the question of slaughter. Bismarck would appear to have given the absolutely correct answer to the idea of limiting armaments by means of international engagements and pledges, when he told Crispien that there is no means of establishing a system of proportion between countries, at least one which shall neutralize points of superiority and inferiority. Big states will remain big states, little states will remain little. Moreover, the limitation of armaments will create in favor of the strong, and to the detriment of the weak, a right of interference. Every nation will have its eye upon its neighbor, and will want to know how much powder, how many cannon it has in its arsenals. Recriminations, reproaches, discussions, and denunciations will follow thick upon each other, and the big nations alone will rejoice, since they will have every legal opportunity of interfering in the affairs of the little countries. In limiting force, the law of obligation will also be limited, and those whom obligations bind will cease to care for the rights of others.

Is this question of universal peace to be relegated, then, to the realm of chimeras? No, says M. Hanotaux; the cause is not lost, provided that the present conference be practical in producing measures which shall lead to international understandings. If it can do this it will have accomplished much,—as much, indeed, as can be expected of it.

IS RUSSIAN REFORM IMPOSSIBLE?

TWO European publicists of note have, in current magazines, seriously considered the question as to whether Russia can really be reformed or not. These publicists are M. Leroy-Beaulieu, the French economist, who has just returned from a professional trip to the Czar's dominions, and Signor Iaccarino, one of Italy's best-known travelers and ethnographers. Both writers virtually conclude that the real and practical crisis of the Russian revolution is yet many generations distant, and in perusing the two articles one is conscious of a certain note of pessimism which suggests that Russia is a country in which a high degree of political civilization is the remotest of contingencies. It was to the Paris Institute of Political Sciences that M. Leroy-Beaulieu lectured on the present situation in Russia. The economist takes exception to the view that Russia is likely to regain her position in Europe by reaffirming her autocratic principles and methods. He says:

"In Russia, as elsewhere, absolutism and

autocracy are anachronisms, and although the present government pretends to maintain her position theoretically, she is so enfeebled that her autocracy is dying of inanition. It was the chief blunder of the Russian absolutists that they thought they could raise a Chinese wall between their own country and western Europe and prevent all notions of liberalism and freedom from penetrating. This capital blunder, added to the fact that Russia could initiate no timely reform for the country and the ever-growing populations, is responsible, more than any other event, for the troubles in which she finds herself to-day. Had she given the people a participation in their own government in the first days of the present Czar's reign the country would have been at peace at present. As it is, political construction of any permanent kind has been thrown back at least two generations."

In order to demonstrate the lack of real cohesion among the people, M. Leroy-Beaulieu relates that at the opening of the first Duma many of the more intelligent *mujiks*

pointed out the Japanese representative as the "real liberator of Russia," and that when, in the course of the war, he (M. Leroy-Beaulieu) expressed at a Moscow popular club his hope that victory might smile upon Russian arms, he was curtly informed that good Russians did not want victories, but, rather, defeats, as being the surest guaranty to the people that the day of constitutional government would be brought nearer. "A final triumph," they declared bitterly, "would only have the effect of throwing back for twenty-five or even fifty years the liberal reforms which our defeats are bound to bring about."

The national half-heartedness displayed at so critical a period as the late war, M. Leroy-Beaulieu insists, has had the effect of practically rupturing the Franco-Russian alliance. There is no longer any confidence in it, either on the part of the French or on the part of the Russian Conservative party, which looks upon France as the nursery of revolutions. There are not wanting some who assert that France was the very cause of what has been called the Russian Revolution, and it is for this reason that Russia is to-day trying to arrange a better understanding with her old rival, England, her virtual isolation being now a fact. According to the French economist, the ascendancy of the Conservative party is assured for "the next thirty years, not to say fifty," and the popular factions have, as matters stand, little chance of attaining a full measure of constitutional or representative government.

Signor Iaccarino, writing in the *Rivista d'Italia* (Rome) starts out with the alarming assertion that the effects of the recent

war between Russia and Japan have entirely destroyed that balance of power which for the past thirty-five years has assured the peace of the Old World. It has had the effect, he says, of involving both Europe and Asia in all future political moves.

With so many religions, nationalities; with the ever-active usury of some 5,000,000 Jews; with aspirations for autonomy in Finland, Caucasasia, Bessarabia, and Poland, what superhuman strength shall he possess who can bring order out of such chaos and reconcile all conflicting aspirations? Could it be otherwise than that a country so heterogeneous in its composition should remain forever the home of the conspirator, the revolutionary, and the senseless anarchist? Peoples so different can never look upon themselves as equals, and those who really desire a better future for Russia must seek *not* to destroy the imperial power, but to assure to each ethnical group the means of working out its own salvation according to the methods most suitable to it and in accordance with all modern exigencies.

Unlike the majority of publicists, the Italian thinks that there is no race on the earth which is so much predisposed to socialism as the Slav race, nor any more practically collectivist. In this lies the best hope of Russian reform, since it will be possible to co-ordinate all the various elements on a basis which, however material, also possesses in it something of the sentimental. Reform for Russia must first start with a propaganda of national unification, only possible, it is clear, owing to the diversity of the elements on the basis of a community of national interests being established. A just division of the soil will bring about a national sentiment which will, in its turn, consolidate Russia as an effective unit among the great world powers. But, says the Italian, that day is far from ours.

THE RUSSIAN DUMA AND OUR CONGRESS.

IN a recent issue of the monthly magazine of St. Petersburg *Istoricheski Vvestnik* (*Historical Messenger*), published by the well-known reactionary, A. Suvorin, the owner and editor of the *Novoye Vremya*, Mr. Matrossov, one of his constant contributors, endeavors to find fault with our Republic and its Congress by drawing a parallel between the latter and the Russian Duma. It is evidently an inspired article, written in the interests of the autocratic ministry, which, after the dissolution of the second Duma, is trying to find an excuse for returning

to the old régime. A general comparison is made as follows:

The United States Congress is the representative body of a republic assumed to be the freest in the world, legislating for a nation apparently at the height of its political might and industrial prosperity, amid conditions of what seems like profound internal peace. The Russian Duma, on the other hand, is the house of representatives of a constitutional monarchy, where the nation, through a long and painful process of social evolution bordering on revolution, is barely struggling up the steep grade of a constitutional life. The Duma has yet to conquer for itself its own political competency and that amid a bloody mist darkening the country. This divergence, however, is more apparent than real.

The United States, regarded as pre-eminently *the* Republic, "the greatest democracy of the world," is really, says this writer, less democratic than Great Britain or Holland, and is at the present time the greatest plutocracy in the world, "with pronounced tendencies to engage in political adventures."

The power invested in the President, constitutionally at least not less than in reality far exceeds the power of a constitutional monarch. He can veto any legislation by Congress. A concurrence of a two-thirds majority in each house of Congress is necessary to pass a law over the President's veto,—a procedure, which, with the usual relative strength of parties prevalent in Congress, turns out to amount to a mere *jus nudum*. Add to this the President's right to submit legislation to Congress, to call an extra session of either one or both houses, to adjourn them in case they disagree as to the date of adjournment, and you have the imposing sum total of constitutional prerogatives for the old-fashioned President. The Chief Executive of the modern school, not satisfied with this modicum, considerably widened his legislative domain. Leading Senators and Congressmen are invited to the White House, and at a family luncheon or dinner are drafted into the President's service to promote in Congress his pet legislation, by enlisting in their turn a sufficient majority in both houses. With the advance column well drilled, comes the official message itself, recommending legislation. The so-called independent has repeatedly protested against this unconstitutional drawing-room influence on legislation, but in vain.

This, says the Russian writer, is sufficient to show that as regards the relations existing between the President and the United States House of Representatives, in the real power and importance of the latter as well as of the lower houses of European parliaments, let alone Great Britain, "there is no essential difference between them so as to exclude all comparison between legislative activity of the Russian Duma and that of the lower house of Congress." A comparison of the two from a constitutional standpoint,—that is, their functions as determined on paper,—is omitted here, as it can have only an academic interest.

The profound peace and prosperity of the country amid which the United States Congress works, Mr. Matrossov continues, is illusory.

The frequent general strikes, the bloody collisions of workmen and Socialists with the police, the savage reprisals of the so-called coal, iron, and railroad police and other minions in the pay of capitalists, the massacres of negroes and all other forms of industrial warfare and oppression and race hatred, all this points to deep social unrest and forbodes revolution.

The high level of culture, the tactfulness, executive ability, and perfect suavity of the



CZAR NICHOLAS AND THE DUMA,—IN THREE CHAPTERS.

He tried to coddle the first Duma and humor it. The second he was content to try to lead. The third he will ride and break.

From *Ulk* (Berlin).

officials and employees of all ranks connected with the American House of Representatives service are striking by contrast with the "undue severity and carping fault-finding of Baron Osten-Sacken, chief of the guard of the Taurida Palace, his assistant, the notorious Ponomarov, ensign of the gendarmerie, not to speak of the lower ranks with their annoying, pestering rudeness and utterly misplaced executive zeal."

The men running the elevators in the United States Capitol are sometimes highly educated and with some political past. The employees of the electric-lighting and steam-heating plants of the Capitol surpass their Russian confrères by their efficiency, experience, and salary. Messengers and employees of the House of Representatives differ still more from the employees of the same kind in the Duma. The Russian messengers, hall-boys, guard, or any other employee about the Taurida must perform all kinds of errands, be a jumping-jack for every one of higher rank. The American employee has strictly defined duties, *e. g.*, to issue books to the public from the record room of the House, care of committee rooms, mailing of official matter of certain members or committees. The Congressional post-office and the barber shop are conveniences unknown in the Duma. Tampering with Congressmen's mail, as was done with the mail of deputies of the Duma, is unthinkable. Congress-

men frequently abuse their right of "franks."—*e. g.*, mailing free of postage, under the guise of "public documents," articles of furniture, utensils, pianos, and even dairy-cows. Such abuse of their privileges on the part of federal legislators of "the greatest democracy" may appear improbable to a Russian; the facts, however, have been established by a searching investigation conducted by a joint committee appointed by the House and the Senate.

The Secretary of the Duma and the clerks of the House, nominally performing the same functions, differ widely in several respects.

The secretary and his assistant are elected from the members of the Duma, serve without salary, and work under the supervision of the president. The Russian secretary, according to his functions, is simply a transmitting agency, an intermediary between the groups of Dumaists introducing bills, and the Duma itself or its committees. The American clerk of the House is a Congress official, appointed by the Speaker, with a salary of \$5000 a year, and is the head of a whole staff of clerks of the House Office.

These clerks' salaries range from \$900 to \$3000 a year. In comparison with the slender pay-roll of the Duma office, as drafted by the budget committee of the Duma or "the beggarly propositions to this effect made in full session, the above amounts seem immense."

There is very little in common between the names and jurisdictions of the committees of the Duma and the fifty-one committees of the House. The following are the names of some of the Russian committees: On Interpellations, Freedom of Conscience and Inviolability, the Budget, Famine Relief, the Unemployed, Drumhead Courts-Martial, Auditing, Finances, Agrarian Affairs, Examination of the Duma Mail, and six sections of the Committee on Credentials.

The secretaries of the Duma committees, like their chairmen, are chosen from among their members, while the clerks of the House committees, in the United States Congress, are also the private secretaries of their chairmen, with an ample salary.

PROPOSED REFORMS OF THE FRENCH MARRIAGE LAWS.

IN France there is a pronounced movement in favor of more liberal marriage laws; indeed, there are not only at Paris, but also in the provinces, even many advocates of the *union libre*, or common-law marriage. In response to these tendencies, expressive of the demands of the radical French democracy for greater individualism, the French Ministry of Justice has instituted a commission to revise the French marriage laws. The work of this commission, together with the various aspects of the marriage-question in France, is discussed in *Nord und Süd*, by Dr. Ludwig Fuld.

Before the French Revolution divorce was unknown to the French law. When the Constitution of 1791 formulated the proposition that marriage is a contract, laws were promulgated permitting and regulating divorce, in agreement with the liberal ideas of the time. Subsequently Napoleon exercised a great influence on the regulation of the marriage laws, also recognizing divorce in his *Code civile*. After the Restoration divorce was abolished, separation from bed and board being substituted therefor. This obtained down to 1884, and the social conditions arising therefrom furnished endless material for

most of the novels and plays of the period.

Although the evil consequences of that measure were thus laid bare by some of the foremost men of the nation, it was only in 1884 that new divorce laws were framed, restoring within certain limitations divorce as laid down in Napoleon's *Code civile*. These new laws again have inspired some of the masterpieces of French literature. The historian Sorel asserts that they have undermined the stability of marriage to an alarming degree. Among the novelists Paul Bourget condemns divorce on principle, holding it responsible for the deterioration of the people, while the two brothers, Paul and Victor Marguerite, demand even more liberal divorce laws, denouncing the continuation of the marriage bond when love has ceased as immoral, and espousing the rights of the individual as against the state and society. Hervieu, a member of the commission; Brieux, and others, urge a modified reform of the marriage laws. Hervieu's proposition, that love should be classed in the *Code civile* among the duties incumbent upon husband and wife, was made the butt of the comic papers.

The commission has proceeded far enough

in its work to indicate the aim and scope of the proposed revision. The writer in the German review says in reference to this:

The propositions to be laid before the Parliament make far-reaching concessions both to feminism and to individualism. The reaction of individualism, in which must be included the so-called æstheticism, against the doctrine of the sacrifice of the individual to the well-being of the community at large, has made extraordinary progress in France, and to this it is chiefly due that a large portion of the French people, especially the women, call for more elastic divorce laws, which are incompatible with the idea that marriage represents a bodily and spiritual union that may terminate only with the death of either the husband or the wife.

The commission has declared itself in favor of "trial marriage," in that it proposes

a law permitting divorce after a trial period of two or three years, on the ground of incompatibility. This is a harking back to the liberal laws of the time of the first French Revolution, which, however, finally led to unions coming perilously near to free love. Strangely enough, many women approve of this proposition, although they would be the first to suffer from the evil consequences of a relaxed morality. The commission furthermore proposes to give to the married woman complete control of her own property. This is an immense step in advance over the present *Code civile*, under which a wife is absolutely under the tutelage of her husband in all business matters.

THE REVOLT OF THE FRENCH MIDI.

SEVERAL articles in the current French reviews dealing with the crisis in the French wine industry enable the American reader to understand the causes which have led to the uprising of the wine-growers in the South of France.

In the *Grande Revue* M. Paul Pelisse says that never at any time in French history has there been such a rising of the people for purely economic reasons. It is a revolution, some will say. No, says the writer; peremptory arguments from men dying of hunger. Since 1900, when the crisis began to be felt, there have been all manner of congresses and deputations to ministers, with little result. After the phylloxera, the worst enemy of the wine-grower, has come the cheapening of sugar. Disaster has followed disaster, the land has depreciated, and the *Crédit Foncier* will not assist any new en-

terprise in the South of France. The worst part of the business is that all this misery has not been brought about by the victims of it, but that it is the consequence of fraud.

Both this writer and Francis Marre, who has an article in the *Correspondent* on the same subject, quote statistics to show that there is no over-production of natural wine. Before the appearance of the phylloxera the production was indeed higher than it is at



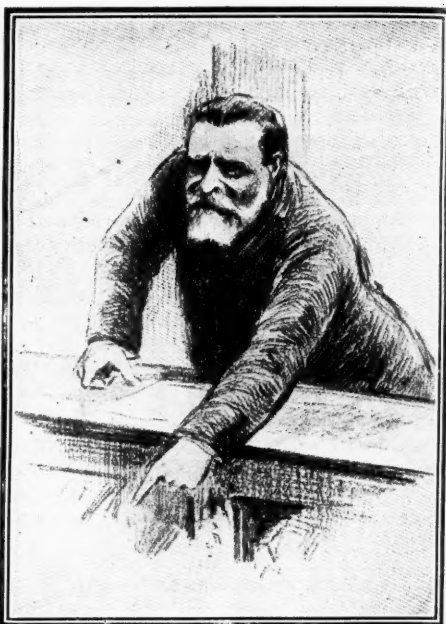
THE LEADERS OF THE WINE REVOLT IN FRANCE.
(Marcellin Albert the second figure from the left.)

present. The markets are glutted with wine adulterated with water and sugar in its manufacture. The law, says M. Pelisse, must set limits to the amount of water which may be used; but as regards the use of sugar the Legislature can do nothing, owing to the complicity of the government of 1903, which favored the introduction of sugar in the manufacture of wine in order to balance its complicated budget.

As one remedy M. Pelisse suggests that when sugar is used as alcohol it ought to be taxed as alcohol. The mere suppression of adulteration with water and sugar would not suffice to dispel the crisis; more abundant distillation should be encouraged.

WHY THE GOVERNMENT HAS FAILED.

M. Marre says there is still such a thing as unadulterated wine. He explains how much the chemist can do by analysis, but he says there are anomalies in the law which should be removed forthwith. The Chambers have omitted to furnish the government



"YOU, MONSIEUR CLÉMENCEAU, HAVE BEEN A LIVING CONTRADICTION TO THE MIDI."

(The Socialist Leader in the French Parliament, M. Jaurès, accusing the Premier of bad faith toward the wine-growers.)

From *L'Illustration* (Paris).



THE ABBE LEMIRE, THE CLERICAL MEMBER OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

(Declaring his party's lack of confidence in the ministry).

From *L'Illustration* (Paris).

with the means to enforce the law as to adulteration. But though Parliament has not voted sums to defray the expenses of analysis in the laboratories, the Minister of Agriculture has placed certain sums at their disposal. Unfortunately, however, no laboratories were at first qualified to examine properly the samples seized, and now only a few exist. There are, in fact, still fifteen French departments in which the suppression of food adulteration is not possible. When a parliamentary commission demands the immediate rigorous enforcement of the law relating to fraud, it asks a thing absolutely impossible, since the analytical laboratories do not know either officially or legally how to detect adulteration by water.

The commission defines wine as the liquid exclusively obtained by fermentation from the juice of the fresh grape. Such a definition condemns all forms of adulteration, including water and sugar. But much more is necessary than a correct definition. All the measures proposed and adopted are futile so long as the state laboratories are not put in possession of the legal means which will

enable them to adopt methods by which all frauds resembles a famous horse which had fraud wherever it exists will be condemned. every good quality and only one defect,— French legislation in regard to the wine namely, that of being dead.

"RED AND BLACK" IN MODERN FRANCE.

"WE will try to determine the contrasts that have ruled France during the last decade," says Ragnvald Moe in the introduction to an analysis of the present French situation which appears in *Samtiden* (Christiania), "contrasts that are not new, but have asserted themselves periodically throughout the nineteenth century, but which have now divided the nation as never before. For the French nation is torn up; the great nation which knew so well how to amuse itself has become restless, uncertain and groping, dissatisfied with itself, and dissatisfied with the old forms."

Mr. Moe points out that the troubles of France are universal, and that the country is still largely representative of the civilized world, but in this fact the Frenchmen find no longer any consolation. They are tired of being the political experimentation field for the rest of the globe. They realize that they have been fighting for others, and benefiting others, not themselves.

The most serious feature of the difficulty seems, according to the Norwegian writer, to lie in the growing inclination, among historians and politicians alike, to regard the dividing contrast as so deeply rooted that, in fact, it split the nation into two wholly incompatible and irreconcilable parts,—a "red" France and a "black" France. From being political it has become psychological, even such writers as a Fustel de Coulanges fears.

Then the opinions of one after another of the French historians are examined by Mr. Moe, from Tocqueville to Aulard. In all the same thought and the same fears are found mirrored. Tocqueville traces the difficulty back to the ancient régime, which he holds responsible for the tendency toward extreme centralization and administrative guardianship which characterizes modern France. Quinet goes still further, tracing the roots of France of to-day down to the later Roman empire.

What is called *le Bas Empire*, with its unwholesome ideas of the state, with its craving for unity and authority, with its leveling and extermination of all distinctions, has passed into the French people, first through direct inheri-

tance, next through the Catholic church, and finally through conscious imitation by jurists and statesmen.

To Renan the cause of all the trials of his country appeared to lie in the suppression of the Germanic element, which stood for individual liberty, by the Gallo-Roman element, with its supreme regard for reason and abstract right. The revolution only fastened down and systematized what was a fact when it broke out, and thus the nation has become merely an aggregation of bricks, without liberty or initiative left to the individual member.

Taine took the same idea and worked it to its utmost consequence, until he established the absolute identity of the radical of to-day with the Jacobin of 100 years ago. The worship of the abstract lies at the bottom of it all, and the result is the establishment of the abstract state, with no right of existence left for the individual except as a duly fitted-in member of that state. Mr. Moe continues:

Taine lacks the sense for objective historical development, however; that is, he conceives this development as completed. He is a historian as well as a psychologist, but he deals with his subjects in the spirit of a paleontologist. Man or an epoch are to him equally an ossification, a fossil remnant of something that once lived, of which each successive phase turned to stone, settling down layer upon layer, but so that each layer, from the first to the last, contained the entire spirit of existence.

Having applied his method to the revolution, Taine, according to Mr. Moe, applied it to Catholic France, only to find the same spirit on that side as on the other. His conclusion was that the two forces opposing each other were one at the bottom. The "red" side started out to fight for the principle of individual liberty, but was, by psychological conditions, forced into a struggle for the establishment of a principle of tyrannical authority,—a principle which is and has always been that of the church. The two opposed parties may differ as to means; each one may want to exclude the other from power, but their aim is the same: establishment of complete unity based on a central tyrannical authority.

To this common idea P. Seippel, another

noted historian, has given the name of "the principle of moral unity," while to the mental attitude determining it and determining the fate of all France, according to his view also, he has given the name "the Roman mind." He finds salvation, however, in a "third" France, which he sees in the common people, the workingman and the peasant, who go on laboring and building up the nation without patience or heed for the quarrels of "the two brawlers above." Mr. Moe questions the existence of such an element wholly free from the dividing spirit. He gives as important contributing causes of recent events in France the voluntary withdrawal of Liberalism from the fight between the two extremes, and the absence of a national institution around which the people can gather regardless of minor differences.

The main disturbing factor lies to him in the contrast existing within the state itself: its authority being lodged in a parliament which is at once the historical heir and modern exponent of the principle of central authority, and the expression of the popular determination to apply modern principles of self-government. To him the situation of France in this respect is the situation of every other European country, although nowhere else the problem is brought to an issue so sharply and so clearly. He believes that the problem will be solved, because in France men have the faculty of forgetting their own selves in the service of great ideas. He thinks, too, that sharp as the split is between "red" and "black" France, there is no unbridgable chasm between them.

FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF CANADA'S CONFEDERATION.

AS the present year of grace marks the fortieth in the life of the neighboring Dominion, it is not cause for wonder that Canadian periodicals should refer to the progress made since confederation at length. In the *Canadian Magazine* for July (which appropriately might be styled a "Confederation" number), there are four distinct contributions on this subject: "The Fathers of Confederation," by Mr. John Lewis; "Journalism at Confederation," by Mr. J. E. B. McCready; "Vicereines of Canada," by H. V. Ross; and "Canada's Possibilities and Perils," by Mr. John Maclean.

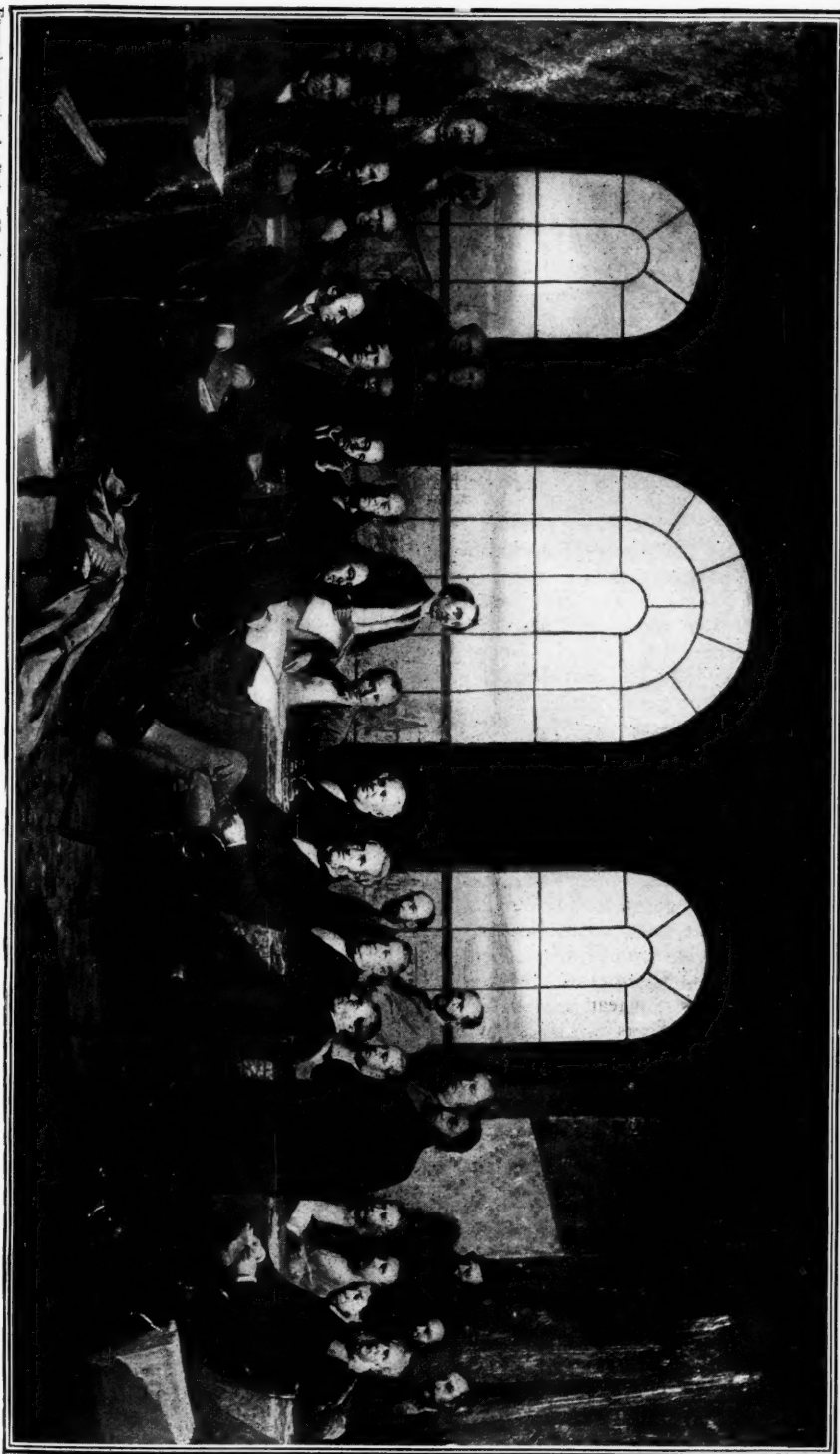
These separate papers are replete with historical interest, not alone for the Canadian, but for the American or the European who would know something of the Dominion of Canada's past history and present outlook, and would prefer to peruse it in brief narrative sketches of its leading statesmen, together with an outline of its journalistic progress, rather than glean the same from uninspiring official facts and figures. Mr. Lewis devotes much space to a presentation of Sir Etienne P. Taché, probably Canada's most famous statesman before confederation; and to Macdonald, Brown, Tilley, Mowat, Tupper, and Langevin. Sir A. T. Galt, who advocated a federal union as early as 1858; D'Arcy McGee, the brilliant young Irishman, and Sir George Cartier, also receive distinguished mention.

"To whomsoever we may assign the chief credit for bringing about confederation," says he, "two faces in the picture [an accompanying illustration] stand out as those of the men who had most to do with working out the system. They are Sir John Macdonald on the federal side, and Sir Oliver Mowat on the provincial side. Macdonald was at the head of affairs from 1867 to 1873, and again from 1878 to his death in 1891. Mowat was Premier of Ontario from 1872 to 1896. Those were formative years, years in which the bounds of federal and provincial authority were settled, and the machinery of the government put in working order."

While Canada was discussing the terms of confederation the roar of the guns of our own Rebellion was sounding in her ears. "That this was done peacefully," says he, "detracts from the picturesqueness of our history, for it would tax the powers of a Macaulay to make the report of a debate in Parliament as thrilling as the battle of Gettysburg. Yet there is something worthy of thought and study in the very fact that confederation won for us in a peaceful way what other countries have won by civil war and wars of conquest,—freedom, union, and great expansion of territory."

The difficulties confronting Canadian statesmen forty years ago were many. Racial and religious issues were added to the necessity of establishing new channels of trade,

From the painting by Robert Harris



THE FATHERS OF CANADIAN CONFEDERATION.

for reciprocity with the United States had been abrogated, and war with this country seemed ever imminent. A mere strip of territory in the midst of the continent, it was not then a country stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. These disadvantages were faced, however, and to-day, after forty years' trial, Canada's constitution is working well and is a good instrument of government.

At the time of the formation of the Dominion no daily paper therein had a circulation of 15,000. All told there were not more than a score of papers published,—twelve in Ontario and eight in Quebec. After confederation the maritime provinces had their own journals, and their number in 1874 was eight. Canadian dailies total more than one hundred to-day, and their aggregate circulation has increased fifteen-fold since 1867. Journalism, however, at that date was a great power, and has not since produced more forceful writers: In Ontario, George Brown, William McDougall, John Cameron, James Beatty, and Thomas White have had no successors of greater ability and few equals as editorial writers. In Quebec, Edward Goff Penny, D'Arcy McGee, and John Dougall wielded trenchant pens; while Nova Scotia had William Annand, E. M. McDonald, William S. Fielding, John G. Bourinot, George Johnson, and Martin J. Griffin. Livingston, Elder, and Anglin are names famous in New Brunswick's newspaper history, and Whelen, Laird, and Lawson in that of Prince Edward Island.

While the newspapers have been enlarged and improved, the status of the leader-writer has declined. At confederation, says Mr. McCready, the leading journals were all strongly partisan; the independent newspaper had hardly yet come into being. Colorable and favorable reports of public men and events appeared in "party" organs, and *vice versa*. Telegraph service was limited and costly, and letters took the place of the telegraphic reports of to-day. Pen pictures in those days anticipated the plate pictures of statesmen nowadays. New members of Parliament were always objects of attraction and curiosity, and this was notably true of Donald A. Smith, John C. Schultz, Amor De Cosmos, big Bunster, and long-haired Thomson, of Cariboo. There were few voters beyond the Great Lakes in 1871.

Because "business" is at present bigger than politics it has absorbed many of the Dominion's "big" men. This, he contends, accounts for the fact that journalism and poli-

tics forty years ago attracted more men of foremost ability than is the case to-day in Canada. Newspaper men were oftentimes assaulted by aggrieved members who had been criticised or caricatured severely. The writer himself narrowly escaped upon one or two occasions, so the pace could not have been a very tame one. He closes his sketch with an anecdote at the expense of the press gallery. It was the custom of that body to select from the House membership one to whom was accorded the title of the "Wickedest Man in the House." Upon occasion the choice of the scribes was one "Blagdon." When the telephone was first introduced a connection was made with a church in Ottawa from the reporter's gallery and the pencil wielders were invited to test the apparatus on the following Sunday. They did so, and a solemn stillness and awe fell upon them as they heard for the first time the sounds of the organ,—as if from an unseen world. Waiting for the opening invocation to follow in the clear, reverent voice of the pastor, they were considerably amazed to hear the harsh, coarse voice of Blagdon! "There was no more solemnity after that."

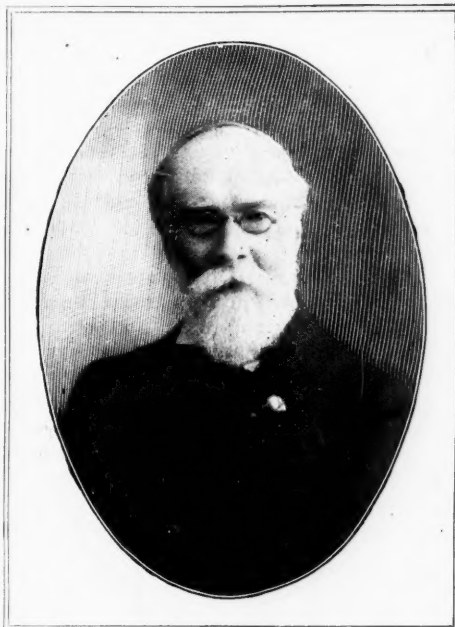
Mr. Maclean appraises the Dominion's possibilities and points out its disadvantages, but, on the whole, reaches optimistic conclusions. With boundless wheat fields, large orchards, extensive forests, fine fisheries, immense mineral deposits and coal areas, large cattle, sheep, and horse ranches, and marvelous iron ore deposits, only a prophet could predict the growth of the country in the next fifty years. Capital and energy alone are needed for the development of these wonderful resources. In 1867 the population was only 3,500,000; to-day it is 6,500,000. Over 200,000 immigrants arrived last year, representing forty nationalities. Fifty different languages are spoken in Canada, and during the past nine years, of the total immigration 60 per cent. was English and 40 per cent. foreign. This makes the patriot ask, "What will be the outcome?"

With the Canadian Pacific crossing the continent, and three transcontinental railroads now in process of construction, rapid development is assured. In five years some towns have doubled their population. Winnipeg has jumped from 42,340 to more than 100,000, and more than thirty languages are heard in its streets. "The whole country is passing through an era of unbounded prosperity, the people are full of enthusiasm, and a great future lies ahead."

Political, commercial, industrial, educational, and religious problems, which will tax the common sense and good judgment of high-minded citizens, may be expected to arise from this rapid development. The foreign factor has awakened some alarm, but with 95 per cent. of the population of the Dominion native there is very little cause for trepidation. Strikes and labor disputes, lust for power, political and business corruption, a tendency among farmers for luxury and ease,—these are some of the evils to be dreaded. "When wheat becomes of greater value than men, and materialism sways the will and degrades the passions and the imagination, men will lose sight of their relations to their fellows, and forget the true destiny of empire. The greatest peril which Canada has to fear at the present time is the baneful spirit of materialism."

She needs, he believes, our sound training in citizenship, through the schools, the press and the pulpit, and men of character, of high ideals and sterling principles. She is full of silent possibilities, of unborn energies, which will yet break out to assist humanity to the best there is in the world.

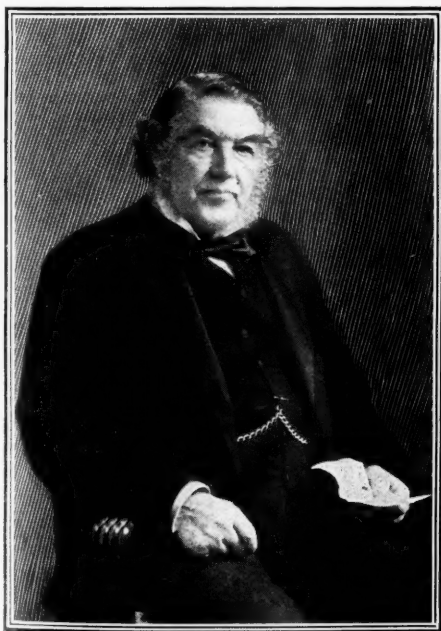
Nine interesting sketches of the ladies who have led Canadian social life at Ottawa since confederation are contributed by Mr. H. V. Ross. Lady Monck, Lady Lisgar, Lady



SENATOR A. A. MACDONALD.

(The Senator and Sir Charles Tupper are the only "Fathers of Confederation" who are still living.)

Dufferin, Princess Louise, Lady Lansdowne, Lady Stanley, Lady Aberdeen, Lady Minto, and Lady Grey, the present Vicereine, are the gentlewomen who have presided at Rideau Hall. Their charms, personalities, and characteristics are delightfully portrayed, and, as well, their social triumphs and entertainments. Lady Dufferin and Lady Aberdeen appear to have been the most successful. The former gave a state ball in 1876 which cost \$100,000, and while she was mistress of Rideau Hall it fairly glowed with social fellowship and good cheer. Lady Aberdeen was more noted for her "home" qualities and benevolence. She founded the "Victorian Order of Nurses," which flourishes to-day and keeps her memory green in the hearts of thousands of the needy sick. All of the vicereines were favorites with the people of the Dominion and partings were always regretful. This result could not have been otherwise. "In choosing colonial governors," says Mr. Ross, "the wise old British Government has exercised great care that able statesmen should be sent to the important Canadian post; but, inasmuch as empires have been won and lost through a woman's smile, equal care has been taken to see that the men selected had clever, tactful, and winsome wives."



SIR CHARLES TUPPER.

SOME NEWLY DISCOVERED MAZZINI LETTERS.

SOME unpublished letters of Giuseppe Mazzini have appeared in the *Nuova Antologia* (Rome). They were addressed to a Russian lady who was inconsolable on account of the loss of her two young children. The letters passed into the hands of Signora Georgina Saffi, who has authorized their publication in the belief that they would interest the many admirers of Mazzini because of the light they throw upon his religious convictions. The following extract from one of these letters is especially significant:

As I have told you, I am not a Christian. My God has almost nothing in common with the God of Christian dogma; but I am profoundly religious; firstly, by my heart and by the voice of my conscience, and then by my intellect and through study. When I was a student I was sometimes led astray into the path of atheism; it was history and science that caused me to retrace my steps. In studying history,—not the history of individuals, but that of the masses,—from age to age, I perceived the action of a power, of a law, which, little by little, leads us

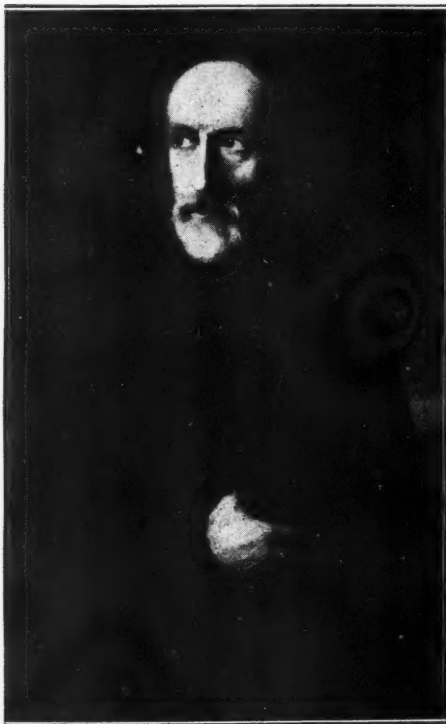
upward and extracts good from evil. There has been no great and noble idea that, once promulgated, did not triumph in the end, although it might traverse centuries of obstacles and persecutions; there has not been one holy aspiration which, starting with a handful of believers, who were called fanatics, was not certain to increase the number of its adherents, become sooner or later a church, and modify the dominant religion; there has been no evil enterprise, whether of ignorant barbarians or ruthless tyrants, that was not followed by a powerful reaction of the good, by an enlargement of the sphere of civilization, by the advance of liberty. Progress was therefore a law, and science showed this to me even in the material universe. It was evident that a plan of education had been traced out for humanity. Our progress may be rapid or slow, according to our endeavors and according to the use we make of our freedom, but, sooner or later, we infallibly follow this guidance. This supreme law is an intelligent and beneficent law. We have not made it. Therefore, some one higher than ourselves has made it and this some one is God.

Naturally the chief theme of the letters is the question of immortality, and the writer often regrets that he cannot use his eloquence with his friend face to face. He writes:

Absent, I do not know what to say to you. You suffer terribly and I am unable to console you. Near to you . . . I could tell you that there is no death; that your children still live; that life is not a lie; that its aim *ought* to be attained; that your love and theirs is a promise; that under different forms, but recognizing one another, you will meet again. How can you set foot in that little chamber without feeling this? Without feeling that your love and your adoration of those objects that recall the lost ones to you are a species of pledge? Without feeling that when we plant a flower on the grave of those whom we have lost we have not performed an act of folly, but rather an act of faith; that we believe in a kind of contact with those who are far from us and believe that they could suffer from our forgetfulness?

A curious passage in one of the later letters shows that the "ruling passion" was never long absent from Mazzini's mind. It appears that the appeal was unsuccessful. Another quotation:

If I did not believe that you cannot misinterpret my thought or see a kind of indelicacy where there is only a sacred purpose, I should not write as I am about to do. But I have faith in you. This is the matter in hand. We believe, myself and some Polish and Hungarian friends, that it might be of great utility to those national causes for which I strive, to send two of our friends to the United States in order to come to an understanding with the element in that country which sees in the struggle and the triumph a new rôle for America, and for us. We are poor and the miserable sum of 1500 francs is lacking for the accomplishment of this



GIUSEPPE MAZZINI.

(From the painting by Felix Moscheles.)

purpose. They are collecting money for me in Italy at the present moment; but this money,—as is well known, and I should not otherwise accept it,—is exclusively destined to the Venetian enterprise which we are organizing for the spring. Therefore, I have only 2000 francs at my disposal, and this is not enough.

Now, do you recall the Russian name Potnebia? Your friends knew him, loved him, admired him; I, too, have seen him, and he well merited their regard. His life, devoted to his

native land of Russia, ended,—as your friends know,—on the field of battle. He died in a second engagement at the side of Langiewicz. Langiewicz possesses his wallet, his watch, several other small objects. He would give them up,—regretfully, I assure you, for he loved him well,—with a declaratory certificate, to any Russians. He believes that Potnebia himself would approve this utilization of his souvenirs for the advantage of the common cause to which he sacrificed his life.

WILL THE "AMERICA" FLY TO THE POLE?

ASSEVERATING that the airship *America* is no toy, but a big, stout, steel-muscled, strong-hearted machine, built for war, work, and endurance, Mr. Walter Wellman answers his own query in *McClure's Magazine* for July. When it sets forth upon its voyage it will weigh 22,840 pounds of men and material. Hydrogen is its life principle. This is carried in a balloon made of three cottons, all rubbered, with a vulcanized outer caoutchouc surface, well calculated to shed rain and snow and prevent moisture entering the fabric. Leakage is counteracted by gasoline consumption, 6800 pounds of which are carried in a tank. An approximate loss of hydrogen is placed at 264 pounds each day, and of gasoline consumption at 660 pounds. The lightening of cargo is estimated, therefore, to be more than twice as rapid as the loss of lifting force. Moreover, by means of a two-way valve in the motor, gasoline and hydrogen are alternately obtained, and this enables the aerialists to consume their surplus hydrogen for fuel, during their flight.

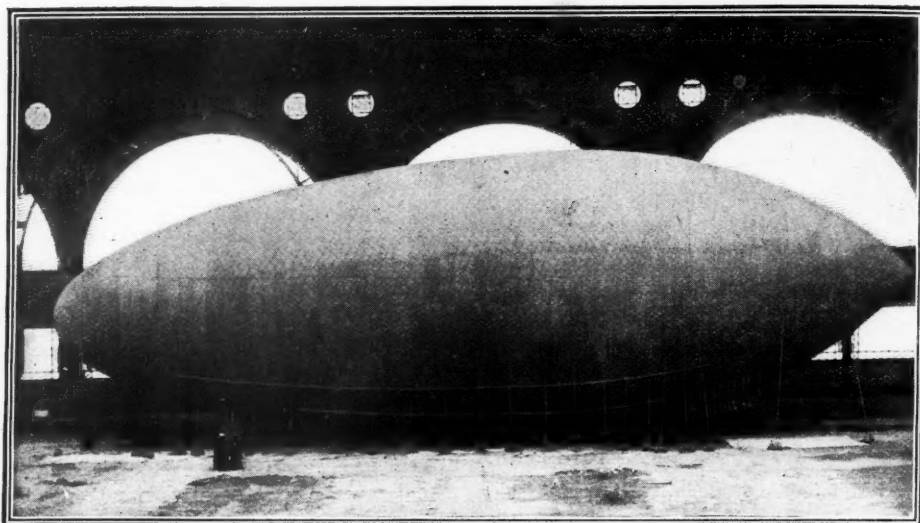
The distance from his base in Spitzbergen to the Pole and back again is 1236 sea-miles. His store of fuel is roughly estimated: Hours of motoring with gasoline, 150; with hydrogen, 30; total, 180 hours. With a speed of fifteen miles an hour his radius of action would be from 2250 to 2700 sea-miles,—an allowance which he considers ample, particularly in view of the fact that the North Polar area has a relatively light wind movement. To prevent the airship rising too high a guide rope, constructed of leather, covered with metal scales, in sectional parts, very closely resembling a serpent, was devised. This is also utilized as a compartment for food storage. Another device, called the retarder, hangs from the forward part of the car, like a huge snake, covered with pointed steel scales, designed to offer the maximum of resistance in propor-

tion to weight, in gliding over ice-floes. Rain is not feared by him; but wet snow or sleet adhesion is a matter of moment. By pumping hot air, released by the gasoline combustion, into the balloon the skin of the reservoir is kept a few degrees above the surrounding temperature, thus tending to melt adhering snow or sleet.

The car of the balloon is V-shaped, and is 115 feet in length, eight feet high and three feet wide at the top, and is made of steel tubing. The bottom is the gasoline tank. It has fourteen sections, each more than eight feet in length, used for navigation purposes, motors, sleeping, etc. The deck is 115 feet in length and two and one-half feet wide. It is only six feet from the bottom of the balloon, and the suspension apparatus consists of steel cables. The crew comprises four men, and with fair winds the ship may reach the Pole in one day, with calms, two days; contrary winds, five days; and with unusual winds,—never.

Mr. Wellman intends to return, and assigns four reasons for his faith: First, because the chances of making the return journey in ten days or two weeks are fair. Second, because the balloon can be kept afloat for twenty-five to thirty-five days, in which time they should reach land, in the event of everything else having to be sacrificed. Third, because they have a sledging outfit and a dozen picked dogs to take them back to land, if the airship takes them to or near the Pole. Fourth, because their supplies will last them until June 1, 1908, and materials are at hand for a comfortable hut. He concludes:

No matter where the wheel of fortune may drop us, we hope we are prepared for all eventualities,—food enough for a wintering in our own larder, and much more food if nature favors, in our rifles and cartridges. Should it be necessary, we could pass the long night of the winter at the North Pole itself, be it land or ice-sheeted sea,—the six-months' night, with the



SIDE VIEW OF THE POLAR AIRSHIP "AMERICA."
(The airship is 180 feet long.)

moon, the stars, and the glorious aurora for our illuminant,—and there await the coming of the six-months' sun, before setting out on the long journey homeward.

Mr. Wellman Describes His Balloon, the "America."

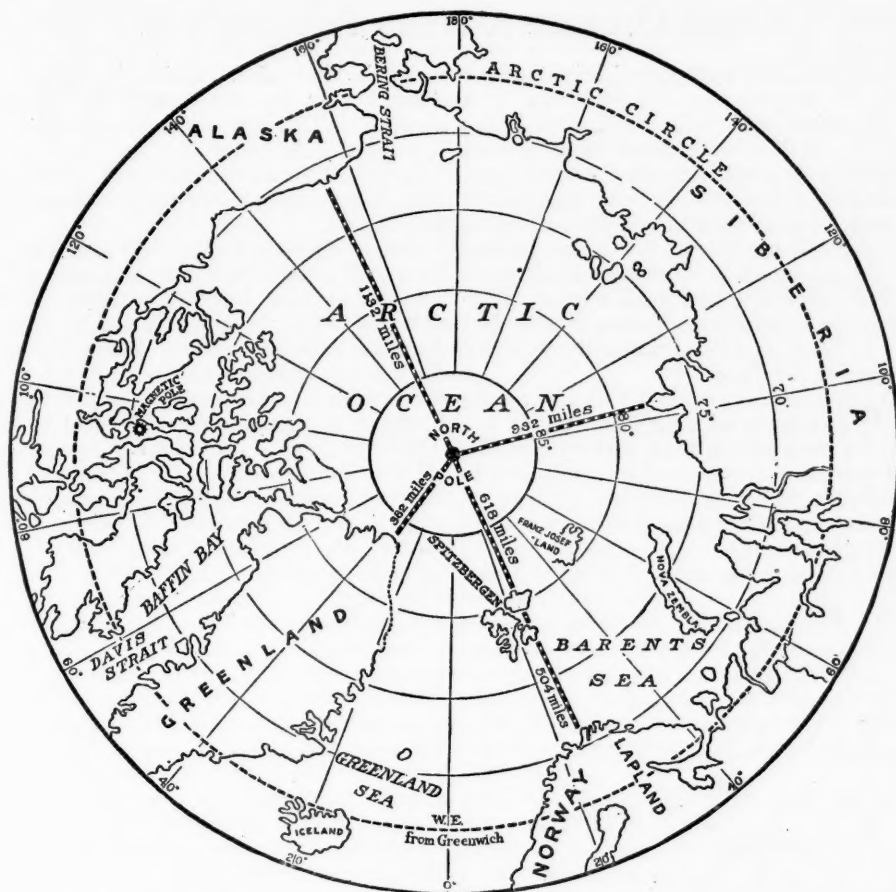
In a recent interview with a representative of Reuter's Agency, Mr. Wellman is reported to have said (we quote from the *Journal de St. Petersburg*):

"This present attempt is really the first attempt to make a practical use of aerial navigation, because all the other attempts were experiments. Our guidable balloon is absolutely new in every detail, and we hope to realize our object,—that is, to go from Spitzbergen to the Pole and return in one day. One of the most important changes made was the enlargement of the balloon. The length of the *America* has been increased by eighteen feet. Her ascensional power has been increased by 3000 pounds, so the actual ascensional power is 19,500 pounds. The balloon is 184 feet long and her maximum diameter is fifty-two feet. She cubes 265,000 cubic feet. With the exception of Count Zeppelin's 'dirigible,' the *America* is the largest airship ever made.

"The keel, or spine, of the balloon is formed by a steel reservoir eighteen inches in diameter and 115 feet long. In reality the upper part of the reservoir constitutes the deck of the balloon. To avert all danger

of explosion we have subdivided this reservoir into fourteen compartments, or tanks, and we can take oil from any one of the tanks without opening any of the others. The truck is covered or surrounded by silk, stretched very tightly. The side is a vertical plane and the broad roof is a horizontal plane. The whole thing was built to give stability to the ship when it is in the air. The stern of the ship is a rudder of about 900 square feet, shaped like a bicycle wheel, which, in spite of its size, weighs only thirty pounds. A little forward of the center is a very heavy motor (seventy horsepower, steam), weighing 900 pounds, which will work incessantly and regularly and stably as long as we want it to work. In this new balloon the propellers, which are like those used in all the French army 'dirigibles,' are in the center, on either side. The compartmentage is formed by triangular spaces in the interior of the chariot contained in the balloon. The compartments will easily hold ten or twelve men, twelve dogs, and our equipments. Hanging from the roof, running on light rails, is a reservoir holding 600 pounds of provisions. We have 6800 pounds of petroleum in our reservoirs, enough to run the motor 150 hours at a normal rate of fourteen knots.

"The weight of the cargo will decrease at least 600 pounds a day (the motor will consume as much as that weight in oil), while



MAP SHOWING ALTERNATIVES FOR A RETURN JOURNEY FOR THE WELLMAN BALLOON EXPEDITION.
(The figures indicate sea miles.)

the loss of ascensional power by escape of gas through the envelope will probably not exceed 150 pounds per day. So, at the very least, we shall have between 400 and 500 pounds of ascensional power,—which represents just as much gas as we need. Generally, aeronauts allow the surplus gas to escape through the valves, but we reasoned that it would be a pity to waste such good combustible, since hydrogen gas has exceedingly high caloric power. By making a few experiments, we found that we could burn the surplus hydrogen in our motor. While we are on our trip to the Pole we shall keep in touch with the earth by means of our guide rope. At the highest we shall not run up more than between 300 or 400 feet. We shall let the guide rope drag.

"This guide rope is absolutely indispensa-

ble to the safety of air navigation. Our rope is pretty heavy, and it will be heavier, because, instead of using a simple steel cable, we have had constructed a kind of leather serpent, fifteen inches in diameter and 130 feet long, weighing about 1400 pounds. This we shall fill with our reserve provisions. The guide rope hangs by a steel cable. It is covered with little steel scales to protect it from the weather and to facilitate its sliding over the ice and snow. On the water it floats.

"Thanks to our enlargement of the balloon and to the reserve rations stored in the guide rope, we shall have in all 3000 pounds of food,—enough to keep us ten months. We could live in the balloon ten months without getting out of it. So, let come what will, we are ready."

LATIN-AMERICA A FIELD FOR CAPITAL.

POSSESSING vast potentialities that are not appreciated, Latin-America is a great undeveloped field for United States capital. It is on the verge of a forward movement that will astonish the world, and if American investors desire to take advantage of the same their time is the present, or Europe will control the situation. Basing his statements on an experience of six years in Latin-America, Mr. John Barrett, director in the International Bureau of American Republics, thus advises us in the *Bankers' Magazine* for June:

Mexico is being exploited to-day by the aid of \$700,000,000 of American capital, and there is room for ten times that amount during the next twenty years in every country in South America. It has been rumored in Europe that \$2,000,000,000 of European capital would find its way to South America within the next ten years. In Cuba we have embarked more than \$150,000,000; and in Porto Rico, Santo Domingo, Haiti, and the Central-American States, \$50,000,000 more, yet experts agree that the development of their resources has only begun. With permanent law and order established, these investments would be increased substantially.

Colombia is our nearest neighbor in South America, only 950 miles from Florida. It is as large as France and Germany combined. It has a marvelous variety of climate, and is rich in mineral wealth. Every important vegetable and timber growth is found there. Railroads are wanted to open up its wide area and reach its gold, copper, and platinum mines. Its cities need electric-light plants and street-car lines, its timber, of great value, should be brought to market, and its numerous water powers are other sources of profit. A representative of a great English banking house told the writer that \$25,000,000 of foreign money could be profitably invested during the next ten years in Colombia. All this is measurably true of Venezuela.

In considering Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, and Brazil as purely tropical countries unsuited to Americans, there is a grave mistake. It is not *nearness to the equator* that determines heat or cold, but *altitude above the sea level*; and there are many large and cool areas wonderfully mingled with low tropical valleys, with fertile soil and varied resources, to be found. Ecuador, five or six times larger than Pennsyl-

vania, is illustrative. Quito, its capital, is situated near its center, and the country abounds in Andean uplands. A railroad built by two Americans in Ecuador, and another in Colombia, will form two important links in the contemplated pan-American railway system.

Brazil alone is larger than the United States. Rio Janeiro, its capital, spent more money last year for public improvements than any city in the United States, excepting New York; and the central government and the different states are expending larger sums for river and harbor improvements than the Government or States of the United States. These facts should convince the most skeptical that Brazil is a field for investment. A harbor to cost \$14,000,000 will soon be constructed at Rio Grande do Sul. Railroads to connect Rio Janeiro with Montevideo, capital of Uruguay, on the south, and with Asuncion, capital of Paraguay, on the southwest, are projected. The Amazon is being improved for navigation and towns and cities are springing up everywhere. These will require water-works, electric lights, sewerage systems, and street-car lines. In the interior are mountains of iron and coal and forests of valuable timber. Brazil offers a safe field for the investment, in the near future, of \$100,000,000 of American capital.

Bolivia is to have from the United States \$50,000,000 for railroad development. Peru's copper mines now utilize many millions of American dollars, and Paraguay's agricultural and timber wealth is a profitable venture for capital. Uruguay is deserving of consideration from the fertility of her soil, and is spending \$10,000,000 to make her harbor at Montevideo one of the best in all America. Chile is heavily exploited by English and German capital. The government is spending \$10,000,000 for the improvement of the harbor at Valparaiso. This country is extremely inviting.

The Argentine Republic is the "Wonderland" of South America. Buenos Aires, its capital, has a population of 1,000,000, and its foreign trade in 1906 amounted to \$562,000,000. This seems incredible for a country with only 6,000,000 people, but it is the truth. It surpasses Japan, with 40,000,000 of people, and China, with 300,000,000 of inhabitants. It signifies a per capita trade of \$100, proportionately greater than any other country on the globe. Its railroad systems

rival our own, and those of Europe as well. American capital could not be employed better anywhere than in developing the vast agricultural possibilities and mineral wealth of the Argentine Republic.

Money is needed everywhere in South America for American branch banks, railroads, electric rail and street-car lines, electric-lighting plants, water-works, sewerage systems, harbor improvements, agriculture, timber, and mineral exploitation. Four-fifths of South America has known no serious revolution in the last fifteen years, and its foreign trade in 1906 was valued at \$2,035,350,000.

Of this, the balance in its favor was \$241,165,000, its export surplus. In conclusion, Mr. Barrett pays a tribute to Secretary Root's efforts in his recent visit to South America to promote mutual good will between that country and our own. "As a result of Mr. Root's visit to South America a new era has already dawned in the relations of the United States with her sister nations, and it now remains for the capital of this country, accumulated through our past prosperity and looking for new fields, to improve the wonderful opportunities in the southern continent."

THE POLITICAL CREED OF AUSTRALIA.

A CLEAR and moderate statement of Australia's present political position is to be found in the Hon. J. W. Hackett's paper on "Some Federal Tendencies in Australia," in the *Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute*. One of the chief difficulties of Australian political life, this statesman tells us, is the avoidance of public duties by those best fitted for them. The reason for this, he says, is partly because "the man in business cannot afford the risks of placing 1000 or 2000 miles between his work and his home," and partly because the better-off Australians so often leave the continent to reside elsewhere. There is another reason: "the fear that large sections of our best material decline to offer themselves as targets to the unmeasured and often dishonest invective and public misrepresentation which they must face from platform, press, and even Parliament."

Proposals are therefore being made for fixing the honorarium of members in each Federal House at £500, £600, or even £750 a year, instead of £400.

Another troublesome tendency is the three-party system, in which many see the chief danger which Federation has now to face. So weary have Parliament and country become of the bad results of a minority government kept in office at the will of a second minority, that a most drastic innovation has been suggested, the hint for which has been derived from Switzerland: that Ministers be directly elected from and by the houses of Parliament, and when the members of the cabinet differ, the two Houses act as umpire.

Another tendency which Mr. Hackett notes is the democratizing of the Senate, "the

capital experiment of the federal constitution." By the Commonwealth Constitution Act, the difference of position and functions, formerly always associated with a second chamber, are obliterated. This may lead to unexpected results, but Mr. Hackett believes those results likely to be good rather than evil. It may alter the whole face of state



PREMIER DEAKIN POINTS OUT AUSTRALIA.

ALFRED (the Teacher): "Here, Johnny Bull, I am determined to make a scholar of you. That's Australia. You've simply got to recognize its existence."

From *Punch* (Melbourne).

politics; it may go a long way toward the unification of Australia; and it may mortally wound responsible government as understood in Australia.

Protection, Mr. Hackett says frankly, is becoming, and, in fact, is, one of the main articles of the political creed of the people of Australia. "For good or for evil, the commonwealth must be added to the protective people of the world." There is no doubt also that Australia intends to be a self-defended

nation; and equally no doubt as to the popular wish being that the commonwealth herself should direct man, officer, commission, and pay her own contribution to imperial defense. Perhaps she may even wish to construct her own ships in Australia. Another federal tendency as to which there can be no doubt is what is known as a "White Australia," the case for which is stated by Mr. Hackett. Such is the political creed of the young democracy at the antipodes.

SAN FRANCISCO'S STAR PROSECUTOR.

THE dramatic success of Assistant District-Attorney Francis J. Heney in the prosecution of the San Francisco grafting cases has aroused the interest of the whole country, and stimulated public curiosity concerning the personal history of this fearless prosecutor. This curiosity will be partially gratified by an article from the pen of Lincoln Steffens which appears in the August number of the *American Magazine* (New York). Heney's career, it appears, has been as picturesque and as full of exciting episodes as most of those that figure in the dime novels of a generation ago. Heney grew up in San Francisco, but early in life fared forth in quest of even more adventure than that Western metropolis afforded. He led a reckless life in Idaho and Arizona, and the crisis of it all was a bitter and long-continued feud ending in Heney's "killing his man." We need not give the details of this unpleasant episode. Suffice it to say that as Mr. Steffens has reviewed the evidence Heney appears to have been justified in his act. According to Arizona standards his act was not only palliated, but was applauded. As Mr. Steffens puts it, "all men felt, and many had said, that Heney should not have taken what he did from Handy (the man whom he slew). But his restraint was understood for what it was, moral courage."

The young attorney soon became involved in political fights, and it was not long before he rose to leadership in his party organization,—the Democratic. "He was a good leader; honest, sincere, and not afraid; and his followers were like him, gay, enthusiastic, and unselfish. Their platform was (first) good men in office, (second) economy, and (third),—as a corollary,—no graft." In course of time Heney and his friends got into control, not only of the county organi-

zation, but of the Territorial party machine. President Cleveland had just been elected for the second time, and Heney with his young Arizona Democrats secured the appointment of the Territorial Governor. Heney himself took the Attorney-Generalship, because, as he now says, he was afraid that the Governor would go to grafting, and he thought that it was his place to mount guard. An investigation of the retiring Republican administration apparently revealed many instances of petty thieving, but before long Heney found that the new administration was getting involved in grafting operations quite as serious as those that they had undertaken to stop. Heney's subsequent course of action was characteristic. "He was disgusted, but he fought. He brought suits against his own good men, just as he had against the bad men in the old administration." Among these suits was one against his own brother, who was really innocent of offense, but was the only responsible party on the bond of one of the grafters, so that he was made to pay. Another suit was against his law partner, whom he had appointed a chancellor of the university, and who had followed the custom of taking more money for his services than the law granted. He was made to pay back the money.

In attempting to explain his attitude toward corrupt politics Heney has said:

No, it's not a mere matter of good men and bad men. I suppose I seem always to be trying to put crooks in jail, and I am, but I know that that won't straighten the crookedness. That's what I used to think. Now I realize that my fight isn't against men, but a system, and my hope is that the evidence I produce of crime may help good men and women to see that there are certain causes of all this corruption of ours, causes which they must remove if we are ever to achieve good government in Arizona, Oregon, California,—the United States.

A CENTURY'S MOVEMENT OF POPULATION IN EUROPE.

PROFESSOR SOMBART, of Berlin, contributes a careful article to the *Woche*, which is rich in statistical information concerning the developments of population in the great European states during the past hundred years. The vast increase in numbers in countries the world over,—France forming a notable exception,—he remarks, is beyond doubt the central problem around which all the material problems of our time, and almost all the spiritual ones, revolve. By careful investigation he comes to the conclusion that, on the whole, the chief cause of this accession is not to be sought in a suddenly augmented birth-rate, but in a decreased death-rate consequent upon the diminution of war, upon the elimination of epidemics, the increase of wealth, but most particularly upon improved hygiene, etc. After giving very detailed statistical statements regarding the various European countries, he thus sums up:

Surveying the forest of figures through which we have wandered, this general impression is conveyed: a prodigious increase of the population of Europe within the last 100, particularly within the last fifty or sixty years. Upon the same extent of territory upon which barely two generations ago (the middle of the nineteenth century) 250,000,000 people lived, 400,000,000 are now living. The various countries display, of course, great differences. Not to mention Ireland, there are countries in Europe where the gain in population has been very slight, like France; others,—Russia and England,—whose numbers have doubled in two generations, with intervening gradations between the two ex-

tremes. The present extent of German territory contained 25,000,000 inhabitants in 1816; at the formation of the empire, 40,000,000, and in 1905, 60,000,000. Russia has a greater birth-rate and England a smaller death-rate than Germany.

As to the shifting of the total population of Europe which has already taken place within its borders, as affecting the share of the various nations, this writer presents the following tables:

OF 1,000 INHABITANTS OF EUROPE THERE FELL TO THE SHARE OF THE STATES:

	In the years—		
	1801.	1850.	1905.
Great Britain and Ireland.....	93	104	105
The Netherlands.....	16	12	13
Belgium.....	16	16	17
France.....	158	137	94
Germany.....	160	138	145
Austria-Hungary.....		114	117
Switzerland.....	10	9	8
Sweden and Norway, Denmark..	29	29	25
Russia.....	200	215	285
Spain and Portugal.....	78	71	58
Italy.....	100	95	80
Balkan States.....	33	60	53

OF 1,000 EUROPEANS THERE WERE IN THE YEAR

	1801.	1850.	1905.
Germanic.....	375	369	373
Latin.....	355	321	251
Slav.....	268	310	375

While the Germanic peoples have about maintained their position, the Latins have been thrust far back. They had to give way to the Slavs. "If Europe a hundred years ago was preponderatingly,—that is, almost three-fourths,—Germanic-Latin, it is to-day preponderatingly,—likewise, three-fourths,—Germanic-Slavic. And a hundred years hence?"

THE "ARRIVAL" OF ARGENTINA.

THE prodigious development of the United States within the last few generations has had the effect of making the people of the Argentine Confederation very indifferent to, if not wholly contemptuous of, certain other countries in the Western Hemisphere, progress in which, if it has not been so self-assertive or rapid, has at any rate proceeded along lines so logical and methodical as to warrant the belief that the economic future of these states is at least as fully assured from the point of view of lasting soundness as that of the United States.

Among the Latin countries of the south one can point only to Argentina as having any claim to a potentiality of development

analogous to that of the United States, says M. Burnichon, in *Etudes* (Paris). It was the expressed conviction of the late Señor Pellegrini, ex-President of Argentina, that by the end of the twentieth century the republic should attain the world-importance which now attaches to the United States. Says M. Burnichon:

A glance at the natural advantages of the Argentine Republic, as well as at the stage of economic advancement it has now reached, will show with sufficient clearness that Pellegrini, a profound economist, indulged in no fanciful ream. Its superficies is six times that of France; its plains are watered by superb rivers, by means of which the interior is placed in touch with the coast. The Parana runs through the country for more than 2000 miles, with a

breadth varying between two and three miles, carrying to the ocean a volume of water amounting to some 30,000 cubic meters per second, or once and a half that of the Mississippi, twice that of the Ganges, four times that of the Danube, five times that of the Nile, and one hundred times that of the Seine. The Amazon alone exceeds it in this respect. It is capable of floating ships having a draught of eighteen feet, six hundred miles in the interior.

As for Buenos Ayres, it is the twelfth port in all the world. In 1904 its shipping-trade aggregated 10,500,000 tons for the port of Buenos Ayres alone,—that is to say, its shipping had doubled itself in ten years. . . . In 1886 the railway system of the republic amounted to 5836 miles; in January, 1905, to 19,901 miles, and at the present moment considerably over 20,000 miles. In comfort, speed, and general equipment the trains equal those of the United States. By 1909 it will be possible, on the completion of operations now in execution, to travel from Buenos Ayres to Valparaiso in less than forty hours. The Argentine Republic will by the construction of her railroad system assure her future as certainly as Canada has assured hers. Her enormous cereal resources will be the first to profit by the systems, for, although her great mineral riches are practically untouched, Argentina is essentially an agricultural country. In fifteen years she has quadrupled her area of cultivation. In 1905 she boasted 10,273,000 full acres in tillage (of which 5,000,000 were for corn), or only 3 per cent. of the superficies of the country. Besides this, some 60,000 acres are given over to stock-raising, the returns for 1906 being 128,000,000 sheep, 35,000,000 cattle, and some 7,000,000 horses and mules. Who shall say, then that her cereals, meats, cotton, and fruit may not prove a fierce competitor in European markets?

That the farmer has entered enthusiastically into the exploitation of this promised land is, M. Burnichon assures us, an indisputable fact. The price of farms is increasing every day; many that sold over twenty years ago for \$250 are now cheap at \$200,000. In some cases they exceed 200,000 acres in extent. Unfortunately, hands are wanting, the result being that labor is at a high premium, and since machinery is scarce the aggregate of shipments of cereals to outside markets is by no means what it might be. It is to be remembered that in order to exploit her 350,000,000 acres Argentina has but a population of 5,000,000, of which Buenos Ayres alone has 1,000,000. With its temperate climate and its immense agricultural resources, it offers in all probability a better field for colonization than any new country in the world. Says M. Burnichon:

Although the time of dirt-cheap bargains is gone, settlers can easily become their own masters, wages being abnormally high, and tilled lands being available for purchase on a yearly instalment plan. Unfortunately, there has hitherto prevailed a system which the Argentine Government now proposes to remedy: Till 1905 the best lands were in the hands of speculators, who, by extortionate rates of interest, made matters hard for the poorer immigrant. Thus in 1905, a year of wondrous prosperity, some 100,000 of the immigrants returned either to Europe or North America, taking out of the country some \$1,500,000,—a loss sufficient to awaken the government to a sense of patriotism. Italy and Spain supply the largest contingent of immigrants, while English capital invested in the country is worth \$1,000,000,000, France and Germany contributing some \$200,000,000 apiece,—money paying from 5 to 7 per cent. to investors. Its commercial budget for the year 1906 shows that in exportations and importations the sum of \$400,000,000 was exceeded,—or, proportionately to the population, twice as much as the commerce of France.

TASK OF THE COLLEGE IN THE SOUTH.

THE specific relation of the college in the South to that section's moral and intellectual development is one of rare significance. It is capable of rendering it unique service, in its present peculiar difficulties. Prof. S. C. Mitchell, of Richmond College, submits a trenchant, but altogether too brief, paper on this subject in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for July, in which he points out several definite ways in which the college is helping the South.

Following the Civil War, it brought moral reinforcement through its reliance upon truth and its appeal to reason and conscience in the allayment of passion. It stands for freedom in thought and utterance. It promotes the spirit of nationality and adjusts our people to the life of the nation as a whole. It has followed the transition from agriculture to industry, and promotes it by offering courses in industrial chemistry, electricity, mining and engineering. It is a pioneer for universal ed-

ucation and an adequate public school system. It molds public opinion in the interest of general enlightenment. It brings to bear on the negro problem the light of science and the charity of reason, devoid of prejudice. It socially unifies the South and makes for genuine democracy.

To pursue these purposes the Southern college must cultivate in its students independence and individuality in thinking on every fact,—whether in nature, in society, or in the State. It must continue to advocate universal education and the frank avowal of individual conviction, to vitalize reason and stimulate it to do its perfect work. Society must be presented as a whole, with its limitless interplay of human forces. "I account," says he, "this right focusing of the student's view of the world, as the test of the worth of a Southern college." Viewing the world from the attitude of a particular class, or denomination, is fatally defective, because it lacks that adjustment to actual conditions which alone insures success.

The student should be trained in the spirit of the publicist, to lead intelligent public opinion and divorce it from reliance on the politician. Patriotism and nationality should be its principles, and in them its students should be grounded, and taught to analyze in a spirit of judicial candor. "The college to-day must live and move and have its being in the multitude. Its office is to transmit truth as the atmosphere diffuses light." The expert is finding a larger place in our democracy, and increasing importance is attached to special knowledge and trained men. "We are beginning to learn that the structural force of society is, after all, the idea. . . . To create and to energize the idea of social progress, of national integrity,—of industrial justice, and of spiritual power, is the real work of the college. . . . In the reconstruction of the South, so distinguished a rôle has been assigned to college men as to inspire them with the loftiest ideals and to string with energy their purpose to bring our democracy to its highest fruition."

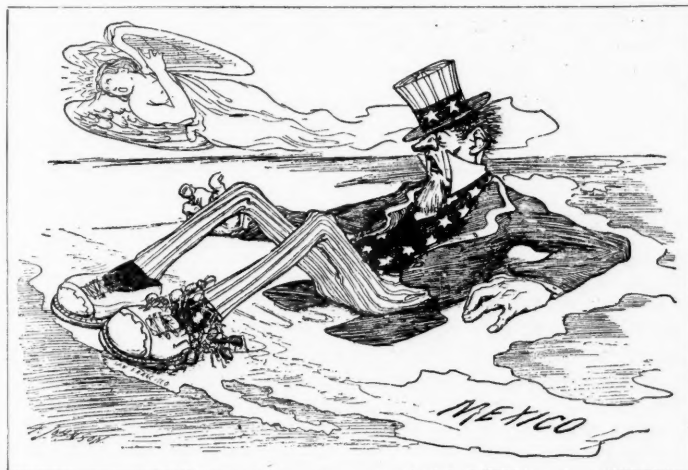
THE NATURALIZATION OF THE JAPANESE.

IN an article in the *North American Review* of June 21 Mr. K. K. Kawakami presents an appeal to "rational-minded Americans" for an extension of the naturalization privilege to his countrymen resident

in the United States. The President's recommendation for a Japanese-naturalization law is of great moment to many subjects of the Mikado in this country, who have established considerable business and are keenly

alive to all vital political issues in this country. The probable number desirous of becoming American citizens, according to his approximation, is insignificant; but it makes up in quality for its numerical weakness.

This class includes "members of the faculties of several American colleges," scientists, writers, and authors. Arguments against their admission to citizenship are most superficial, being founded neither upon the careful study of the



AN UNPLEASANT AWAKENING.

Uncle Sam is aroused from his dream of universal peace by the swarming Japanese, who are overrunning his territory.

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).

naturalization laws now in force nor upon the close investigation into the real status of the Japanese population in America.

Taking, as the best available statistical enumeration of Japanese residents in the United States, the census compiled by Japanese consuls in this country, he estimates the number now in the United States at 49,598. These he subdivides and classifies as follows: (1) Officials and students, 978; (2) professionals, 410; (3) merchants and employees, 4051; (4) farmers, 1700; (5) laborers: farm, 21,707; railroad, 7471; domestic, 7483; miscellaneous, 5798. Of these, students, officials, and laborers will all return very probably to Japan,—the laborers as soon as they have saved a modest sum, and the students and officials on the completion of their special missions.

Assuming that of the 4051 merchants only 1000 are such in reality, the 3051 being employees, in conjunction with 410 professionals and 1700 farmers, we have only 3110 Japanese subjects likely to apply for American citizenship. This, of course, is merely an approximation, but it represents the number likely to remain in America permanently.

"What loss," says he, "will this country suffer in naturalizing such a comparatively small number of industrious, intelligent, even intellectual, Japanese? What danger, indeed, will there be in giving them the privilege of voting? Have they not come from a country where a local self-government and a constitutional government have been successfully practiced for a score of years? Does not America allow even Russian peasants to cast the ballot after a few years of residence, —peasants who, long oppressed under an absolute government, have no knowledge of the working of a free government until they

come to this country? Surely, Mr. Roosevelt's suggestion in regard to the naturalization of Japanese ought not to be ignored, as it unfortunately has been."

Contending that only a small number will apply for citizenship, and those of the best, he pertinently asks: Are the present naturalization laws powerless to discriminate against ignorant and undesirable applicants? The new naturalization laws leave to official discretion the rejection or admission to citizenship of those intellectually or morally unfitted.

Mentioning several Japanese subjects whose names are favorably known to American readers, he continues: "To enumerate all the representative Japanese in America is alike impossible and superfluous; suffice it to say that these are men who are most anxious to see the present naturalization laws so amended as to render them just, believing that the laws as they stand not only cause them many inconveniences, but subject them to needless indignities." Some of these have brought their wives with them, and others have married American women. Moreover, Japanese are not "clannish," and endeavor to adjust themselves to their American environments.

In conclusion, he says: "With all his intense patriotism and his deep love for the Land of the Rising Sun, the Mikado's subject is, after all, not unlike the subject of the Kaiser, who, emigrating to the United States, becomes in a few years an enthusiastic admirer of his new country, ready to defend everything American. It is unfair and unmanly to close to him the door to Americanization, and declare that the son of Nippon is inherently incapable of becoming a faithful member of the Republic."

A WOMAN'S UNIVERSITY IN JAPAN.

IN their eager and clever adaptation of western methods of civilization the Japanese do not abandon their old customs; they cling to them and cultivate them with patriotic fervor. We find an evidence of this in the University for Women at Tokio, where there is a curious mingling of western and eastern culture. Captain von Pustau, of the German navy, found much to interest him on visiting that institution, and gives a rather detailed account of its workings, in the Berlin *Woche*.

The university owes its origin, he remarks, to the ever-growing consciousness of the upper classes of Japan that their own increased culture and participation in public affairs demand a more elevated and comprehensive education on the part of their women than they are capable of obtaining in the girls' schools even of the modern type. When, therefore, Professor Naruse agitated the question of founding a university, in 1895, he was promptly seconded in his efforts by a great number of wealthy and in-



THE HALL OF THE WOMAN'S UNIVERSITY IN TOKIO.

fluent men. The following year he had 700 subscribers, among them being Marquis Ito, Count Okuma, Kobuta, the present Minister of Education, besides some noted financiers; so that it was made possible to erect a portion of the buildings in 1900, on a marvelously beautiful site in the suburbs of Tokio, starting with an attendance of 300 university students and 500 pupils in the girls' high school attached to the university. The Empress evinced her interest in the new institution by a considerable gift of money, and it has from the outset had a brilliant development, being mainly supported by private contributions. It is contemplated to enlarge its scope by the addition of an elementary school and kindergarten. The objects aimed at, according to the statutes, are: "To advance the general culture of the students, in order that they may in the future be able to fulfill their duties as women, wives, and mothers upon the basis of modern conceptions of culture." To gain admission, the pupils must be over seventeen and have successfully passed through the normal school. Their good conduct must be vouched for by a reputable citizen of Tokio. If their behavior gives rise to censure, or if they are unequal to following the courses of

study, they are summarily dismissed. Up to the present there are three different three-year courses,—namely, domestic economy, Japanese literature, and English literature; courses are to be established also in pedagogics, music, art, and science. There are a number of optional studies,—Japanese, Chinese, and English literature, philosophy, music, painting, etc.

The university exhibits on the greatest scale a combination of a girls' boarding-school and school of domestic economy, since over 1000 pupils are housed and boarded for the ludicrously small sum of \$3.57 a month, paying, in addition, not quite a dollar a month for tuition. To quote directly from Captain von Pustau's article:

That special value is attached to the development of character is attested by the fact that ethics takes precedence in the scheme of instruction and is taught by the director himself,—Japanese ethics, be it noted, which places woman in a much more dependent position as regards the opposite sex than is occupied by her in Germany,—not to say America. Much as has been adopted of the western scheme of education, the principle has been steadily maintained that the pupils should, above all, remain daughters of their country, the faithful guardians of its customs and traditions. As an outward sign of this spirit, the broad avenue leading to the university is lined with magnificent cherry trees,

whose superb, rich blossom is the national flower of Japan. Besides a large staff of excellent professors, there are a number of Japanese and four English or American woman instructors. Captain Pustau was specially struck, on his repeated visits, by the extraordinary zeal and concentration of the students.

Great stress, besides, is laid upon health and bodily development, and to this end the esthetic exercises, copied from America, take the leading place, the young girls going through all sorts of gymnastics with hoops, flags, fans, clubs, etc., to the accompaniment of music. Dancing, too, is practiced, to cultivate grace.

THE CASE AGAINST THE DUMA.

DR. DILLON, in the *Contemporary Review*, appears actually to rejoice over the fall of the Duma. For the action of M. Stolypin he has nothing but praise:

It was in the best interests of representative institutions in Russia that the Second Duma was dissolved. It is to be hoped that the third experiment will be successful. The Cabinet has done its best to bring about this result. The Imperial Manifesto struck the right note. The promulgation by the Czar himself of the new electoral law was another step in the right direction. Whatever the outcome of the new measures may be, the Premier has done his duty, and deserved well of the community.

The case against the fifty-five deputies whose exclusion was demanded by M. Stolypin was an exceedingly strong one. Few normal parliaments would have hesitated under the circumstances, but the Duma was far from being a normal assembly. It was the patron and defender of assassins.

A large number of the deputies were not men of good-will:

They had put their faith in violent measures and had come to the Tavrada Palace solely for the purpose of organizing a vast popular movement, into which the troops were to be drawn, and of leading it against the government and the régime. Almost at the opening of the Duma about half its members listened with satisfaction to the statement made by their spokesman that they had come not for legislative work, not to pacify the country, but to revolutionize it. And the declaration was loudly cheered.

The action of the Duma on the nation was unmistakable, but it was irritating, not tranquilizing. Lawlessness spread, murderers were heroes, property was a crime, life a gift to be taken back if used against the terrorists. The Constitutional Democrats were shrewd, shifty, and resourceful, a party of tactics, but not of principles. They were made of soft, yielding stuff, and their programme was a mirage. They were altogether out of place in an assembly where the majority of the deputies were in grim earnest trying to pull down the whole political and social fabric. Their negotiations with the government for the formation of a

Center party broke down because they were compelled to rely upon the Poles for support. They finally precipitated the decision to dissolve the Duma by their failure to come to a prompt decision over the question of the deputies. Dr. Dillon's indictment against the Duma amounts to this: That it was composed of men who did not believe in it, and merely utilized it as an instrument to effect a revolution and bring about the downfall of the existing régime.

Dr. Dillon approves of the new election law, and believes that the majority of the new Duma bids fair to be at least capable of legislating for the nation. He gives a useful summary of the changes effected under the new law:

In future the number of deputies will be smaller than it was, 442 instead of 520; the number of cities with separate representation will be fewer,—five in lieu of twenty-six; the total of non-Russian elements in Parliament will be considerably curtailed, and the loss will fall mainly upon the non-Russian elements of the population. Thus European Russia will send 403 representatives to the Duma, and the remainder will be delegated by the Kingdom of Poland, the Caucasus and Asiatic Russia. The Polish Club, which contained forty-six members in the Second Duma, will have but ten in the Third, and will, therefore, be unable to turn the scales now to the Right, now to the Left. The Caucasus will also have ten deputies to look after its needs, but two of them will be chosen by the Caucasian Cossacks. Russia in Asia will send fifteen members to the Duma, but seven of them will be elected by the Russian elements of the provinces of Tomsk and Tobolsk, and three by the Cossacks. Consequently the provinces and districts which are inhabited by non-Russians will be represented by twenty-five deputies all told, and Turkestan in particular will have none. In the five cities,—St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kieff, Odessa, and Riga,—which retain a separate representation, the ballot will be direct, that is, the constituents will vote not for delegates who are to choose the deputies, but for deputies. Everywhere else the voting will be indirect, as heretofore. Again, the peasants will no longer obtain a lion's share of representation in the rural districts. The other landowners will inherit all the power which the peasantry heretofore wielded over and above its own fair share.

THE UNIONIZING OF GERMANY'S POORLY PAID PROFESSIONAL MEN.

IT has so often been asserted that a classical education is a mere waste of time, and that a scientific training is the only guaranty of both success and wealth, that the acute observer is amazed when he considers the position of technically educated men in Germany. In a country where technical training has been developed to an extent unknown in other civilized states, he will find that the scientific education has not meant prosperity for the university graduate. The position of the German physicians has been growing increasingly serious from an economic standpoint, and during the past year more or less concern has been felt at the grave situation in other scientific departments. Indeed, it is stated with no small amount of justice that the physicist, the electrical engineer, the chemist, is in a position far inferior to the carpenter, the mason, the ironworker, and the discontent is so general that a strong movement toward unionizing technical forces is on foot. In a recent issue of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* we find a long discussion of the problem.

This careful journal says that "the golden stream which has flowed from the industrial life of Germany has benefited only a thin strata of the population, while the men who have created that life, the graduates of our colleges and universities, have not been benefited at all." It also draws attention to the contrast between the actual profits in the technical trades and the salaries received by the men managing the factories, a contrast so glaring

that it led to the formation two years ago of the *Bund der Technisch-industriellen Beamten*. This society has brought to light much which seems incredible. For example, we hear of men with diplomas from our best universities receiving 87 cents a day, even less, and the increase in wage is so small that in the great majority of cases the sum of \$50 a month would not be reached for more than ten years. Moreover, the men must frequently obligate themselves to release to their employers any invention they may make, together with all claim for royalty, while practically all chance for improving their position is stifled by conditions in the service contract which are repulsive even to the morally obtuse. And not only are they repulsive, but they ignore all individual rights,—witness one of the largest Berlin factories where the amount of salary is a "trade secret," the divulging of which may mean instant dismissal.

This writer estimates that 60 per centum of the college-bred technical men in Ger-

many receive less than \$500 a year, 25 per centum from \$500 to \$750, and only 15 per centum more than \$750. But in order "to obtain this trifling wage a young man costs his parents from \$1000 to \$4000."

"A STUPENDOUS OVERCROWDING."

The *Frankfurter Zeitung* considers that "conditions are absolutely chaotic, and as a result of the increase in the number of our technical schools, without any adequate investigation of the needs of the professions, there is a stupendous overcrowding of the different departments."

Consequently, in the case of an offer in the Rheinland of a place with \$45 a month salary there were 270 applicants, and a place with \$50 brought 700 letters. Further, in the best of our technical papers, as the *Elektrotechnischen Zeitschrift* and the *Zeitschrift des Vereins Deutscher Ingenieure*, we constantly find an extensive list of applications for positions, applications which in many instances are heartrending. It is an ordinary thing to read of "\$25 to be paid for a position," or of \$40 to \$50 for the same thing, or "for three years I will pay 10 per centum of salary to the person who procures a position for a constructor with twelve years' experience," and so forth. In the *Essener Anzeiger* we saw a short time ago this advertisement: "Engineer, forty-three years old, for nineteen years active as chief and sub-chief engineer, office and outdoor work, desires at once employment in any place, even as foreman or laborer." And it would be possible to cite indefinitely similar evidences of the deplorable condition of the German technical professions.

The condition which the German writer describes is no ordinary one, and these advertisements have in general no relation to the "want ads" which appear in American papers offering rewards for positions. As the same writer says, "we have here a serious menace to German industry, since there are at least 300,000 to 400,000 men with superb technical training who are threatened with a mere hand-to-mouth existence.

Indeed, ordinary mechanics have more than once declared that they would not change places with the engineers and physicists who have made German technical skill famous the world over. And the wisdom of this view will at once appear if we cite the instance of only one Berlin factory which was forced to raise the wages of its locksmiths twice the past year. During the discussion with his men the director referred to the salaries of his college-bred assistants, and remarked that if the wages of the workmen continued to increase it would soon be possible to obtain two university men for one locksmith. To this the mechanics replied, with evident scorn,

"these people are foolish to accept their present salaries." Therefore, we find the question firmly posed: Shall technical skill be unionized? An answer to this question seems only possible in the affirmative, and this applies not only to the technical men but also to that vast army of employees, bookkeepers, cashiers, clerks, who are to-day utterly defenceless before the exploitation of their superiors.

The German Musician as a Wage-Earner.

A recent article in the *Soziale Praxis* (Berlin) discusses wage and salary conditions among the German musicians. The writer refers to the "desperate position of the majority of German musicians that has been given wide discussion recently in the columns of the press." The musicians themselves, through their organization, the *Allgemeine Deutsche Musikverein*, have also tried to remedy the situation by petitions and appeals to the public and government. But so far these efforts have not been fruitful. In order to appreciate, however, the importance of the question attention is called to two recent books which "should be read by every one interested in German music." The first of these books is "*Die Soziale Lage der deutschen Orchestermusiker*," by Paul Marsop (Shuster and Loeffler, Berlin), and the other is entitled "*Die Lage der Orchestermusiker in Deutschland*," by Dr. Heinrich Waltz (G. Braunschen, Karlsruhe).

According to Dr. Waltz, the situation may be summed up in the statement that with few exceptions "the position to-day of the orchestra musician in Germany is a precarious one."

The exceptions to this rule are members of the great orchestras, although even in these cases only the first positions are well paid. The two leaders at the Imperial Prussian Opera House receive \$1500 and \$1250 a year, but this is an unusually high wage; and in the larger court and city theaters the pay of the orchestra musicians is notoriously insufficient. The *Soziale Praxis* says:

The tables which Waltz publishes show how filled with care and denial is the existence of these artists, and how little their material life is fitted to strengthen them for the great bodily and mental exertions which they are compelled to make. Musicians who have to fulfill the highest artistic demands,—for example, the members of the Hamburg Stadttheatre orchestra,—receive only \$350 a year, and in the smaller towns, as Rostock, Würzburg, Nuremberg, which must have their Wagner performances, the pay is from \$20 to \$25 a month.

The season in the larger theaters is about nine months, but in the smaller it is only

from November to Palm Sunday. The rest of the time the personnel must live as best it can. Therefore the places in the summer-resort orchestras are eagerly sought. A position at one of the great resorts, however, merely assures the musician a bare living, obtained at great expenditure of labor. In many instances the men must play three times daily in wind and rain, and even when there are not so many performances the work is rigorous to a degree. Moreover, in the great resorts, Homburg, Kreuznach, Kissingen, the salary is only from \$27.50 to \$40 a month, and in the smaller, Bad Reinerz, Salzingen, Landeck, the wage is from \$17.50 to \$27.50 a month. In connection with these statements it should be said that the musician has little or no time to earn additional money. At best only violinists and 'cellists can earn a little extra, but these men are usually obliged to hold themselves always at the disposition of the leader. Thus they are in no sense masters of even a small portion of their day.

These pitiful salaries are arrayed against a constantly increasing artistic demand. The work which the musician must do to-day is vastly greater than that which was required thirty years ago. Mere waltzes and marches are no longer sufficient. There must be grand opera and symphony concerts. Dr. Waltz says that from thirty-six to thirty-eight hours are spent in public every week by the average German musician, and this does not include the many hours spent in practice and rehearsals.

The position of the higher-class musicians is desperate enough, but it appears favorable when compared to that of the men in the music-halls, beer-gardens, and similar places. These musicians belong to no orchestra, and they play when and where they can. But they naturally suffer from the irregularity of their work, and they are also compelled to accept any price that may be offered. It frequently happens, as the *Fachzeitung für Zivilmusiker* reports, that these men play for six or eight hours at a ball or other entertainment for \$1 or 75 cents; and it appears from a canvas made by a musical organization that in Berlin 26 per cent. of the independent musicians do not earn \$12.50 a month, and 44 per cent. do not receive \$15. In the small orchestras which share the profits the pay is little better. In Heidelberg, for example, the members of a "mutual" orchestra received \$225 annually, and in Gera the receipts were, for a stated period, only \$50 to \$75 a head.

RAILWAYS OF THE UPPER CONGO.

DISTRESSING reports have reached us more frequently than any constructive tidings anent Belgium's exploitation of the Congo. Because of this fact we are glad to record a friendly tribute to the enterprise and achievement of the Belgians in that region. Mr. Demetrius C. Boulger, writing on railroad construction in the Congo under the Leopold régime, in the *Engineering Magazine* for July, says the story is really a romance that would fill a volume. "It seems to be forgotten," says he, "by some of our latter-day critics, that the Berlin act, which is so often invoked by persons who have evidently never read it in its entirety, laid down in one of the sections of its first article that the construction of railways was to be undertaken chiefly with the view of abolishing human portage. Although twenty-two years have elapsed since the signature of that act by fourteen powers, not one of the five holding territory therein has constructed a single mile of railway in the Congo basin, except the Congo State." This speaks well for Leopold's rule.

Water communication was first attempted. In December, 1881, the first of the Congo Government's steamers was launched on Stanley Pool. It was only five tons. During the subsequent twenty-five years a regular fleet of steamers was added, of over 500 tons each. In March, 1887, King Leopold granted a concession for the construction of a railroad from Matadi, the ocean port of the Lower Congo, to Leopoldville, the river port on Stanley Pool. In 1898, it became available for traffic, and human portage has ceased to be known throughout the whole of the Cataracts Province since its construction. Evils resulting from the employment,—sometimes forced,—of natives in this work, Mr. Boulger says, were inevitable, and the price that had to be paid for a great and highly beneficent result. Continuing, he says: "No government could have shown more clearly than the Congo State that it realized that portage was a system to be superseded by something better in the Upper Congo region as quickly and as effectively as had been done in the Lower Congo."

In 1898, the year of the official opening of the line to Stanley Pool, the question entered upon its third stage. Orders were issued for the survey of a railroad from Stanleyville to the Nile. In January, 1902, a concession was granted to a company formed specially

to fill up gaps in the river navigation caused by cataracts, through the construction of short railroad lines. One line to turn the cataracts at Stanley Falls is completed and in working order; and a second, to turn the cataracts of Hell's Gate and Sendwe, is progressing with remarkable rapidity.

"The starting point of these railways is Stanleyville, a picturesque and growing town on the left bank of the main Congo River, situated at an altitude of about 1400 feet above sea level. The first half of the line rises steadily and slowly to a maximum altitude of 1750 feet. The second half is an equally gradual descent to Ponthierville, which is less than 1550 feet above sea level. Except for this very small ascent and descent the construction of the railway presented no features of great difficulty. As, however, the track passes through a dense forest, it was not easy to determine which was the best line to follow. The clearing of the forest has been accomplished only for a very few yards on each side of the rails. Certainly the most serious part of the work was the cutting of the track through the wood and undergrowth, owing to the fact that the timber could not be burnt on the spot, but had to be carried into the open. A further cause of difficulty was the eradication of the roots and undergrowth, while numerous watercourses required either extensive draining and the construction of culverts, or, at certain points, the building of bridges. However, none of these last named was of any important dimensions. Out of the twenty constructed only ten exceeded fifty yards in length."

Labor had to be organized, for it was entirely local. Over every 100 laborers was a European foreman. On this phase of the problem the writer cites Mr. William Edgar Geil's views, from which we extract: "While in construction of the *chemin de fer du Congo* certainly hundreds have lost their lives, and I have no doubt thousands, yet in the long run it will prove to be of great value in saving human life. It is also a great saving of human health. The old caravan route was flanked with the graves of carriers and of whites who fell by the way, and diseases were developed by the journey. Now many sufferings are avoided. Before the railway was opened the journey took twenty days, at a cost of £50. There is now a great saving of time, and the trip costs only £2. This

is a prodigious saving, and with regard to the Great Lakes Railway it is not only a great material help, but also furnishes a new idea to the whole native mind,—not simply to those living in proximity to the line, but to millions of natives that have heard rumors of this strange mode of transportation. . . . With regard to the work, 2300 native workmen are employed and but thirty whites. . . . I carefully scrutinized the native employees, and found them strong, robust, and jolly. . . . Indeed, they impressed me as being prosperous and well satisfied with their employers, their employment, and their wages."

The line from Stanleyville to Ponthierville,—a distance of eighty miles,—began in January, 1903, was completed in March, 1906. On a new line from Kindu there are at work 5000 men, and thirty kilometers out of 320 are completed. It will be finished by 1909. The navigable channel from Ponthierville to Kindu has been greatly improved in addition. "A new route by land

and water is being opened up for a distance of not less than 860 miles above Stanley Falls, and already 300 miles of it is open to traffic."

He thus concludes: "What the Belgians have accomplished with regard to the Congo is that they have supplemented the defects of nature and vanquished the obstacles that rendered navigation on the great river of dubious value. By the railway in the Lower Congo they placed the upper river in direct communication with the ocean and thereby with the outer world. By the two railways that I have described in this paper they have evaded and turned the obstacles which were assumed to render the river useless as a waterway above Stanley Falls. They have thus insured the prolongation of the magnificent water route which traverses their territory in its first portion from west to east, and in its second from north to south. It is this that constitutes the real source of the present prosperity and the future and much increasing prosperity of their colony."

INDUSTRIAL LEGISLATION AND ITS COST.

LEGISLATIVE interference in labor affairs, viewed from the angle of the humanization of industry, is an inestimable boon, but when it adds to the cost of production, and thus increases the toiler's burdens, it is something of a handicap. At present in England and in the United States there is an unusual amount of activity in framing industrial legislation, and to show that improvements have been effected far more by the development and application of scientific working methods than by legislative enactments intended to be ameliorating is the task which Mr. T. Good sets himself in *Cassier's Magazine* for July. In general, the benefits secured by legislation cost more than they are worth, and the latter is not the most effective means to improve the condition of the operatives.

Confined to his experience in Great Britain, there is, nevertheless, sufficient relevancy to American conditions to make his paper one of interest to our readers. Taking up the new Workmen's Compensation act, imposing liability on employers, he says that when the act of 1897 was passed insurance companies charged only 1s. 6d. per £100 of wages as a premium in the case of risk on textile operatives. In 1905 this had risen to 6s. With railroads, cost of compensation in 1905 per

£100 was 10s. With iron and steel, £1 compensation per £100 has been paid. Under a new law, operative on July 1, these rates are all doubled. Statistics proving that mining, manufacturing, railroad and seafaring work is nine times more dangerous than textile-working alone, the writer assumes that this new act may impose a tax of £5 8s. per £100 of wages paid on British industry in general.

This will not fall on capital alone. Much will fall inevitably on labor, supposedly a gainer by this legislation. Further economies will be attempted, elderly and delicate men will not be retained, and young and strong ones will be speeded up. There are other ways of benefiting labor than by means of legislation. Much mining legislation has been secured, and mining is now as safe as human foresight and present knowledge permit. But much of the general improvement is not due to legislative interference at all, but to the spread of knowledge, the growth of science, and the natural development of humanitarian ideas,—to voluntary effort quite as much as to compulsory regulation. "The moral, social, and educational conditions of our miners have been materially improved; and this improvement in the individual, this

improvement in humanity, due to the influences of a progressive civilization, is reflected not only in improved technical knowledge, but in increased thought and care; and increased knowledge and caution bring a huge increase in safety. Partly through legislation, but chiefly, we believe, through improved knowledge, there has been a large measure of progress in lessening personal risk and injury during the last fifty years." Fatalities dropped from one in every 250, between 1845 and 1855, to one in every 770, between 1896 and 1906.

State regulation within a period of about half a century has added 2s. per ton to the cost of coal getting, thus increasing the cost of production. This means £24,000,000 a year, and with £37,000,000 threatened, in addition, for workmen's compensation, the writer thinks it is time to halt the movement for restrictive legislation and to adopt a new policy in industrial affairs, to settle the differences of capital and labor without state interference. The latter is a tax on production and a commercial handicap.

A PLEA FOR AN UNREFORMED HOUSE OF LORDS.

THE efforts now being made by Premier Campbell-Bannerman to discipline the alleged refractory English House of Lords by bringing it within the jurisdiction and under the subjection of the Commons has aroused the keenest interest throughout the United States and in all European countries. Many nations, including our own, have trouble with their "upper house" at intervals, hence all are anxious to learn just what can and will be done by the English in the matter of controlling the actions of their hereditary legislators.

Naturally enough, the English newspapers and periodicals have opened their columns wide for discussion of this topic, not by any means a new one, but always interesting and, as a rule, timely. Premier Gladstone, when endeavoring to pacify Ireland, a few years ago, complained, early and after, of the Lords and their evident antagonism. He, figuratively, held a "big stick" over the opposition peers and eventually created some additions to the peerage from his own party to help along.

In the current *National Review*, Lord Willoughby de Broke gives his views on this subject in the form of "A Plea for an Unreformed House of Lords." He takes for his theme, principally, Lord Newton's bill to reform the Lords. The outcome of the bill's introduction was the reference of all schemes of reform to a representative committee of the Lords, with Lord Rosebery as chairman.

The writer assumes a defensive attitude and consistently maintains it in a respectful way. Referring to the ministerial resolution inspired by the Premier he says this resolution, however innocent in appearance, aims at completely subverting the present relationship between the two houses of Parliament by

placing the peers under the autocracy of the Commons. At the same time, Lord de Broke admits that reform is necessary.

The effect of the passage of such a bill, in the writer's opinion, is thus stated:

In effect the result of the passing of Lord Newton's bill would be to pull to pieces an integral portion of a very ancient fabric gradually knitted together through the ages, strong enough to resist the wear and tear of centuries, yet probably from its very nature peculiarly sensitive to any attempt at alteration or reconstruction.

For this measure does not merely aim at the reduction of the hereditary element upon which, from its inception, the House of Lords has depended for its composition; it is at once perfectly plain that if it becomes law heredity pure and simple will no longer entitle the holder of a peerage to a seat in the House unless he has stood the test of election, or is invested with one of certain qualifications set forth in the schedule of the bill; so that by abolishing forthwith the claim of any peer to be summoned to the House solely in virtue of the fact that he is exercising a right and a privilege conferred on him by the Crown, what has been called a modification of the hereditary principle really amounts to a fundamental alteration in the basis and constitution of the House of Lords.

The defects of the House of Lords that the Rosebery committee is considering, on suggestion, are (1) the unduly large number of peers; (2) scanty attendance at sessions of their House; (3) the hereditary basis of the House; (4) the absence of representatives of the important classes, and (5) the undue preponderance of the Conservative element. Lord de Broke, in his plea, considers each of these defects in turn, and makes a clear presentation.

The alleged defects of ultra-conservatism, in the eyes of the party in power a misdemeanor almost amounting to a crime, this writer refers to in this fashion:

Even if it were desirable that the upper house should be a kind of reflex of the lower, it is very doubtful if machinery to secure this object could be invented. Conservatism seems to be the inseparable attribute of a second chamber, and a House of Lords containing a strong Radical proportion, or possibly a Radical majority, would be a pure contradiction in terms. The idea of having political parties more evenly balanced sounds plausible enough, but in this event all important divisions would be conducted on party lines.

The plea of Lord de Broke embraces several examples of upper house legislation deemed by him to be instances of wisdom and proper discretion. Referring to the Education and Trade Disputes bills, the writer declares that:

Not only did the House of Lords present to the nation an edifying example of debating power and expert knowledge of the nature of the business to be transacted, but its deliberations were invested throughout with the perception that the one thing the people of this country were de-

termined upon was not to allow anything to impair the teaching of religion in elementary schools. In handling the bill this was the chief principle the peers kept in view. No better example than the passing by the House of Lords of the Trade Disputes bill can be found of its willingness to give effect to what is conceived to be the clearly expressed wish of the vast majority of the electors, even though the provisions of the bill were directly opposed to the best traditions that have previously animated the legislation of this country.

The writer of the "Plea," in connection with the view just quoted, further declares of the House of Lords that:

It has hitherto correctly gauged the temper of the nation, bowed to the clearly expressed popular will, even against its own natural inclinations and leanings, and on one occasion saved the country from a real calamity. At the present moment the House of Lords probably stands higher in the estimation of the English people than ever before.

THE ETHICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PLAY.

THAT a child needs to play in order to be healthy, to acquire control of its mental faculties to think and to do, needs no discussion; but the place of play in human conduct, as related to ethics, is a question for determination. Dr. Luther H. Gulick, in the *Homiletic Review* for July, elucidates this problem.

"Play" may mean amusement or recreation, or "that thing which children do when adults suppose they are amusing themselves." Play demands intense attention, for it is a development of personal activity,—of the highest part of the self. When a baby drops a spoon from a high chair and, on regaining it, repeats the process seventy-nine times, it is not amusing itself. It is learning in a pragmatic way something about its own power in relation to that object. It could not be called recreation, for recreation follows labor. Play is rather the pursuit of the ideal as it then appears. When a baby lies on its back and plays with its toes, it is actuated by a similar impulse to Livingstone when he crossed Africa, Abruzzi when he sought the North Pole, or the violin-maker who made violins better than was necessary through sheer love of the undertaking. They are all in pursuit of an ideal.

He illustrates this very charmingly by referring to an experience with two little girls, sisters, who were playing together. They did not always agree. Presently one said to

the other: "Let's play we were sisters"; and then there was a new atmosphere. Each treated the other in an ideal fashion, and their relations were established on an ideal basis.

The lash of economic necessity has not produced the great poems or statues of the world. Play is not something less than work. It is a difference in attitude. One may play when cooking,—or one may work. One is the pursuit of the ideal; the other is the yielding to the compulsions of life. Play is part of one's life work, and when it can be made the great work it is ideal and glorious.

Ethical conduct springs from self-control, not from control by others. This is a primary reason why children should play, and, in this connection, "the boy without a playground is father to the man without a job,"—that is, using "job" in the sense of a life enthusiasm, or work. But there must be a kind of "mutual-consent control" in the play, such as that seen in "team" play, which, the writer believes, is the "highest type of moral power,—the individual sinking himself into the consciousness of the whole." While not under compulsion the individual is one of the group, yet is at his highest when completely lost in the whole. When this idea extends to all society, the passionate devotion of the individual in seeking to ally the self with the "game of the whole,"—not seeking self-expression, will be realized.